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REPORT OF THE U.S. OFFICIAL OBSERVER MISSION TO THE EL SALVADOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS OF MARCH 28, 1982

A REPORT

TO THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

UNITED STATES SENATE

BY

SENATOR NANCY L. KASSEBAUM

NOVEMBER 1982

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, D.C., September 21, 1982.

Hon. CHARLES H. PERCY,
Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee,
United States Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the entire delegation, I am submitting the report of the United States Observer Delegation for the March 28 Constituent Assembly elections in El Salvador. The delegation agreed that these elections were a remarkable and dramatic event in the history of El Salvador and of Central America. The size of the voter turnout and the remarks of the many individual voters with whom we talked made it unmistakable that the vast majority of people in El Salvador deeply desire peace and social progress. It is my own deep conviction that to betray that strongly felt sentiment will bring only further bloodshed and chaos to that country, which would most seriously complicate United States policy in the Carribean region.

As Chairman, I want to thank the other members of the delegation for their valuable insights before, during and after the delegation's travel to San Salvador: Congressmen Bob Livingston of Louisiana and John Murtha of Pennsylvania, Father Theodore Hesburgh of Notre Dame University, Dr. Clark Kerr of the University of California at Berkeley, Dr. Howard Penniman, Dr. Richard Scammon, and Everett E. Briggs, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs of the Department of State. Of diverse background and political orientation, the members of the delegation are united in their high regard for the determination of the people of El Salvador to find a peaceful solution to their violence torn country through the democratic process.

All the members of the delegation are indebted to Ambassador Deane Hinton and his staff in San Salvador and to the staff and leadership of the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs of the Department of State in Washington for their extraordinary professionalism, skill and expertise. Mr. Joseph Sullivan and Mr. Michael Senko deserve special recognition in this regard. Without the help of these and other Foreign Service Officers and of Ambassador Hinton, a serious and informed observation of these elections would have been impossible.

Special recognition must also go to Dr. Margaret Daly Hayes of the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Her extraordinary knowledge of the region was invaluable to me in preparation

for the trip; her tireless work during the delegation's travel opened our eyes to aspects we otherwise certainly would have missed, and her analysis and evaluation in the aftermath of the trip brought meaning of this important event in the history of El Salvador not only to myself but many others. She represents the finest in the standards of professionalism of the Staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. This report is a reflection of that professionalism.

Warmest regards,

NANCY LANDON KASSEBAUM,
United States Senator.

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I. SUMMARY

On March 28, 1982, 1,551,687 Salvadorans went to the polls to vote. This turnout represented approximately 80 percent of the estimated electorate and surpassed all predictions of turnout made in the final days preceding the elections. The strong message that the Savadorans seemed to wish to send with their participation in the election was one of desire for peace and progress in the social and economic development of their country.

The Salvadoran elections were held to choose deputies to a Constituent Assembly that would have the responsibility for selecting an interim government, writing a new constitution, and fixing a date for Presidential elections. According to the law established for the conduct of the election, the Constituent Assembly was required to convene 8 days following delivery of credentials to the elected deputies. The Assembly did convene on April 14, 1982. A President was sworn in on May 2, 1982, and a cabinet sworn in beginning the following week.

In preparation for the vote, six parties participated in the 2-months election campaign that began on January 28, 1982. Additional parties that had indicated an early intention to participate apparently were not able to mobilize sufficient support to meet the registration requirements. Some parties that had participated in previous elections in El Salvador declined to campaign. No party stood for the leftist opposition represented by the FMLN. Table 1 gives the number of votes cast for each party, the percentage of total votes cast, and the number of Constituent Assembly seats won by each in the election. Appendix A gives the breakdown of votes by party and by department.

The U.S. official observer delegation to the March 28, 1982 Constituent Assembly elections in El Salvador was headed by Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-Kan.) and included the following members: Congressmen John Murtha (D-Pa.), Robert Livingston (R-La.); Father Theodore Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame University; Dr. Clark Kerr, President Emeritus of the University of California, Berkeley, California; Dr. Howard Penniman of the American Enterprise Institute and Dr. Richard Scammon, Elections Research Center—both elections specialists—and finally, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Everett E. Briggs. The delegation departed Andrews Air Force Base on Friday morning, March 26, 1982, and spent 4 days in El Salvador.

TABLE 1.—FINAL VOTE IN EL SALVADOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

	Total votes	Percentages	Number of deputies elected [1]
National Republic Alliance	402,304	25.8	19
Democratic Action	100,586	6.6	2
National Conciliation Party	261,153	16.8	14
Christian Democratic Party	546,218	35.5	24
Popular Orientation Party	12,574	.8	none
Salvadoran Popular Party	39,504	2.6	1
Null ballots [2]	131,498	8.6	
Blank ballots [3]	51,438	3.3	
Challenged ballots	6,412		
Total	1,551,687	100.0	60

[1] The quotient for determining distribution of seats in each department was determined by dividing the number of valid votes cast in the department by the number of seats allotted to it. If no party's vote equalled the quotient, then the parties with the largest votes each received one seat until all seats had been filled. When one or more parties received more than the quota, but some seats were undistributed. Those seats went to the parties with the largest remainders. For this purpose, the whole vote of a party that had failed to meet the quota was considered as its remainder. This latter rule sometimes greatly aided medium-sized parties, particularly in three-member districts where it was virtually impossible for any party to win more than one seat. In all eight three-member districts, the PDC, ARENA and the PCN each won a single seat although in at least one department the PCN won fewer than half as many votes as the PDC. The Ahuachapan quota was 22,711, and the PDC won 27,723 votes; ARENA 23,605, and the PCN 12,746. After subtracting the quota from the PDC and ARENA, the PDC remainder was 5,012, and ARENA's was 894. PCN with a total of only 12,746 therefore won the third and last seat.

[2] Null ballots—ballots defaced on purpose or in error so that they do not count for one party or another. It is estimated that up to 10 percent of ballots cast in a paper-ballot election such as that held in El Salvador can be invalidated by mistake.

[3] Blank ballots—ballots on which no mark has been made to indicate preference or to invalidate the ballot. The blank ballot has traditionally been used in El Salvador to indicate protest over the choice of parties offered.

The U.S. observer delegation was one of 24 official delegations from countries around the world. In addition, many private organizations, political parties and labor unions sent observer delegations. Several countries that had declined to name official observers were represented unofficially. All delegations were lodged together in the El Presidente Hotel in San Salvador to permit maximum interaction and sharing of ideas between groups.

The observer delegation's mission was a simple one: to assess the fairness, honesty and propriety of the voting, the counting of ballots and the reporting of final results in the Salvadoran elections. Members of the delegation viewed all of these activities in different parts of the country. The routes traveled by different members of the delegation are charted on the accompanying map. Senator Kassebaum and Dr. Kerr traveled by car in the western portion of the country as far as the coastal town of La Libertad, stopping at polling places along the way and on the return. Congressman Murtha and Father Hesburgh visited the eastern portion of the country, traveling by helicopter and flying over some polling areas and stopping at others. Congressman Livingston and Dr. Penniman traveled by car as far as the city of Santa Ana and stopped at 10 different polling sites. In all, some 25–30 different polling sites were visited by members of the U.S. delegation. Other observer delegations visited other areas of the country. The U.S. delegation heard of no reports that conflicted with its own assessment of the conduct of the elections.

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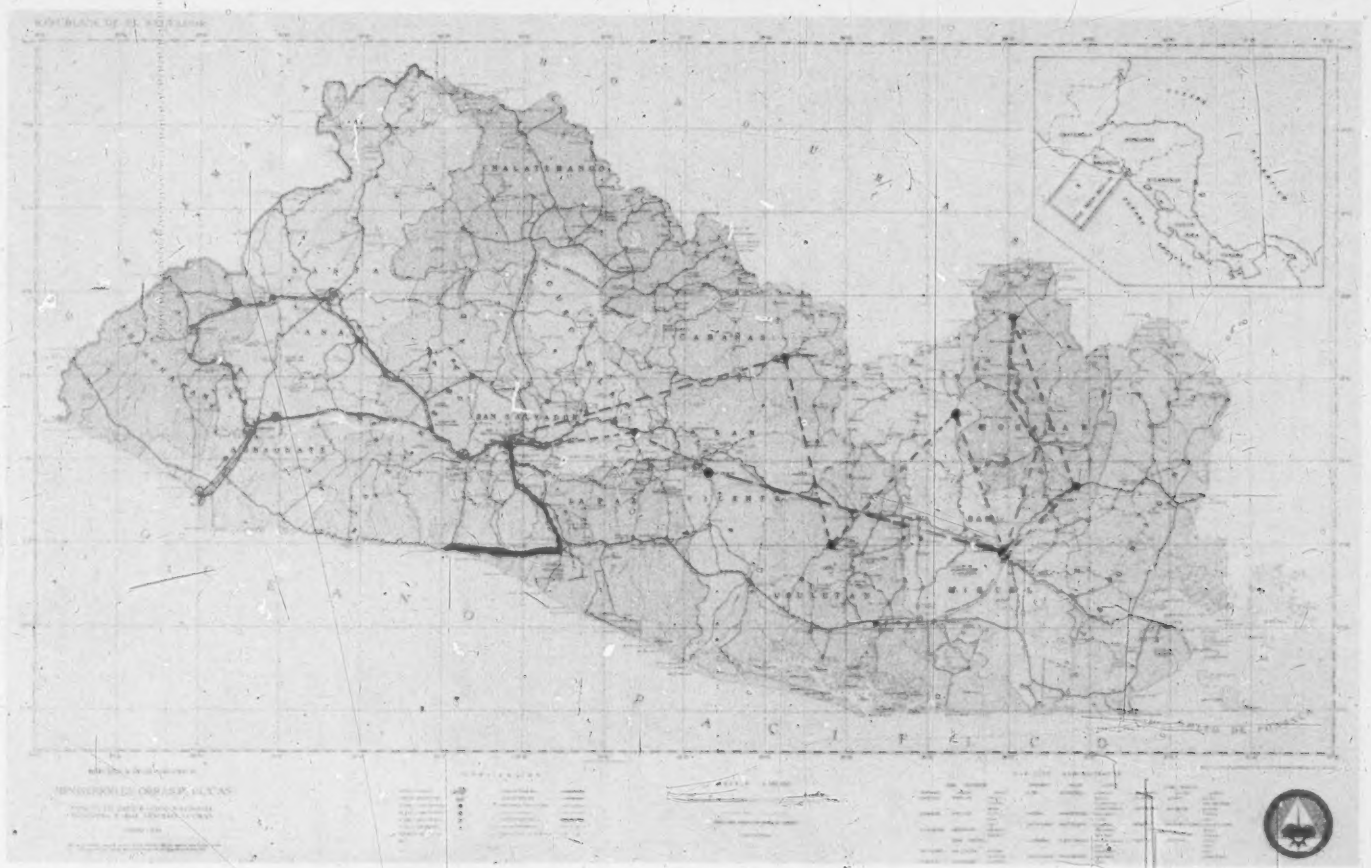

Dotted line—Senator Kassebaum, Dr. Kerr
Solid line—Representative Livingston, Dr. Penniman
Broken line—Representative Murtha, Father Hesburgh

In all areas of the country, people turned out in large and unexpected numbers early in the day. Because of threats of election day violence that had been made throughout the campaign period, the Central Elections Commission decided to concentrate polling places in some 300 sites around the country (ultimately this number was reduced to 256 sites). With polling activities more concentrated, it was thought that better security could be provided to voters and to ballot boxes. In addition, because the on-going civil conflict in El Salvador has resulted in uprooting large numbers of people, it was determined that votes could be cast at any polling site in the country, not, as previously, only in the city in which the individual's national identity card had been issued. The procedure resulted in larger numbers than usual voting in the major urban polling areas. It probably increased the crowding at the polling sites and the length of time required for each individual to vote.

Because of the long lines, members of the delegation were concerned that the people would lose patience and leave before they had a chance to vote. When queried, however, the people in the lines were adamant that they would stay as long as the polls were open. They said the elections were important and that they would wait. Lines remained long at the polling sites visited by the delegation until well into the afternoon. The last site visits were made between 4:00 and 5:30, and at that hour the lines in the villages were short and voters were able to move quickly through the process of checking in, voting and having their identity booklet and index fingers marked with the special invisible ink that would indicate that they had voted. In spite of the early fears, members of the delegation neither saw nor heard of any voters being turned away because of insufficient time to vote during the day.

After spending the day in the countryside, members of the delegation visited polling sites around the city of San Salvador to watch the closing of the polls and the counting of ballots. The delegation was impressed with the care the election officials took in counting the ballots cast at their tables and noted the filing and distribution of the 10-part tally sheet prepared by each electoral "junta," or election Commission. Dr. Penniman and Mr. Briggs checked subsequently to see that the vote totals filed by the juntas were those recorded at election central headquarters in the national count. They found no discrepancies.

The delegation's evaluation of the election procedures were guided by an 11-point checklist agreed upon by all members of the delegation. The checklist included the following reminders:

(1) See if there are long, unnecessary delays in the voter lineup.

(2) Check any harassment around polling places or external pressures on intending voters.

(3) Is each voter checked to see that he has not previously voted?

(4) Is the intending voter required to present his "cédula" or identity card for checking before he gets his ballot?

(5) Is the intending voter's name and "cédula" number then written on the tally sheet of voters?

(6) Is the ballot given the intending voter signed on the reverse side as required by law?

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(7) Does the intending voter mark his ballot secretly, showing his mark to no one?

(8) Does the voter drop his marked ballot directly in the box provided and go directly to the voting table (mesa)?

(9) At the mesa, is his ID card stamped and his finger marked with the appropriate violet ink?

(10) At the counting of the ballots, is the tally made fairly and clearly, including total ballots, ballots not used, ballots spoiled or blank, and is the count of ballots marked for the various parties?

(11) Is the telegram dispatched with the results to Election Commission Headquarters, and are copies of the tally sheet made available to all mesa officials and poll watchers?

With the exception of the first point, the delegation found election officials in compliance on all of the points. There were small irregularities, as must be expected in circumstances such as existed in El Salvador on March 28, but nowhere did members of the U.S. delegation nor members of other observer delegations with whom we talked see any evidence of systematic violations of elections rules or intent to produce a fraudulent vote count.

On March 29 on departing from El Salvador, the delegation summed up its assessment of the Salvadoran elections in the following public statement:

STATEMENT BY THE U.S. OFFICIAL OBSERVER DELEGATION

MARCH 29, 1982

The official United States delegation to the March 28, 1982 El Salvador Constituent Assembly elections, having personally visited a number of polling areas around the country, believes these elections were fair and free.

One of our members, Dr. Howard Penniman, an elections expert who has participated in some 45 difficult elections, observes that yesterday's election was one of the most massive expressions of popular will he has ever seen.

The tremendous turnout, perhaps over one million, underscores the sense of commitment of the people.

Over and over again we heard the people say, "We are voting for peace and an end of the violence. We believe this election can be a new beginning for this country."

It is difficult to express the patience and purpose with which the Salvadoran people turned out to vote, enduring long hours in line to cast their ballots and, in some instances, attempts by the insurgents to scare them off. The election clearly is a repudiation of the guerrillas' claim that they represent the will of the Salvadoran people.

In general the election process itself was orderly and peaceful. The voting procedures adhered to rules established by the Central Elections Commission. There were poll watchers from at least two parties at each table we visited, and the election officials worked seriously at their responsibilities, both in processing the voters and later in counting the ballots. We did see some minor technical

problems during the day, but we saw no indication of fraud. We believe they had no influence on the outcome of the elections.

Because of the threats of violence during the voting, the Central Elections Commission made the decision to concentrate the polling places in some 300 sites. This did cause some confusion. By the early hours of the morning, there were long lines all over the country. For example, in Santa Tecla, a suburb of San Salvador, we estimate that some 10,000 people were standing in line to vote at 9 a.m. We were concerned that not all would have a chance to vote. But by the end of the day, election officials assure us that most of the voters were attended to. The Salvadoran people have said in overwhelming numbers that they want peace and an end to the violence.

We hope that the sense of commitment and cooperation that the voters demonstrated yesterday at the polls will be reflected in the efforts of the leadership of the Constituent assembly that they have elected. The people have asked for a new beginning and they most definitely deserve it.

II. EXPERIENCES OF SENATOR NANCY LANDON KASSEBAUM AND DR. CLARK KERR IN CENTRAL AND COASTAL EL SALVADOR

The observer team of Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum and Dr. Clark Kerr made its first stop in the city of Santa Tecla, a suburb of San Salvador. The delegation arrived at 9 a.m., and already approximately 10,000 people were in line waiting to vote at one of the three locations established in the town. The lines stretched for blocks, but people stood quietly and patiently. The delegates asked randomly how long people had been standing in line. "Since 6:30" or "since 7" was the answer. At 9 a.m., the mood of the crowd was jolly and the temperatures still moderate. However, the delegation worried whether so many people would have the patience to stand in line the day long to vote. Those who were asked about this answered uniformly that they would wait until they could vote—all day if need be.

On learning that the observers were from the American delegation, the crowds appeared pleased that so many people had come to see the elections and to "see how El Salvador really was." When asked why they came to vote in such numbers, they responded that they were voting for "an end to the killing, for peace and the future of our country." They asked Senator Kassebaum to report the great spirit of the Salvadorans and the effort they are making to have peace.

At the Daniel Hernandez School in Santa Tecla, the delegation spoke with one of the heads of the local elections commission. He noted that he anticipated between 30 and 40,000 people voting at his polling station, which held 40 individual tables or "juntas" (commissions). Dr. Kerr asked what would be done if people were still in line at 6 p.m. when the polls were due to close. The official answered that they would have to close at 6 p.m. He also noted that lines had begun to form at 6:30 a.m. In accordance with the law, he had called his election commissioners (three for each of the 40 tables) to meet at 6 a.m. in order to prepare for the 7 a.m. opening of the polling place. But already at 6:30 a.m. there were crowds of people waiting in line. He indicated that he had voted in previous elections and believed there were many more people voting this year.

Dr. Kerr went into the school to observe the voting process. He reported that inside there was the same mass of people, very orderly and well behaved, waiting turn, stoically and in good humor. Dr. Kerr observed that there was no evidence of soldiers or army around the polling areas, though there were soldiers guarding the general area. There seemed to be no discussion among people about whom they would vote for. They were very quiet. Dr. Kerr reported

that the voting was going as the delegation had been told it would proceed. He believed that the voters and election officials were taking it very seriously. It took a little longer to scan the cedula than he had thought it should, and he felt that the officials were "really not prepared to handle this number of people. The pressure to get to one of the 80 boxes in this village is going to be pretty heavy before this day is over."

The team arrived at its second stop, the city of La Libertad, on the coast and the furthest point it would travel from San Salvador, at about noon. As the delegation entered the village, they heard members of the crowd announcing, "we are going to form two lines, one of men and one of women, to establish better order." They became worried on seeing groups of people walking away from the polling place. It was noon, and they feared that might mean that people had become tired of waiting in lines to vote. Instead they learned that the local election officials had decided to move some of the voting tables from the confined areas of the schoolyard, where hundreds of people were waiting, to a second, more open place, thus dividing the crowd and relieving pressure in the schoolyard.[1]

Of the 20 tables originally in the schoolyard, at least four were removed to a second place while the delegation was ched. The ballot boxes, voting tables and registration books were carried by the three elections officials with observers from each of the parties accompanying them. A number of the prospective voters moved along with them too in order to be first in line at the new polling place.

The delegation stepped into one of the tiny school rooms where one election Commission and one ballot box was installed. They counted 62 people packed front to back in line in stifling heat waiting to vote. Some 600 more waited in the small playground in front. Senator Kassebaum spoke with the waiting voters. They told her that they had walked some 8 kilometers to the polling place and that it had taken 2½ hours. They said that buses were not running, so they could not take the bus, and therefore had to walk. The bus owners reportedly had been afraid to put their vehicles on the road because of the threats to blow up all buses taking voters to the polling places.

The delegation talked with one of the election officials inside the schoolroom who explained that his job was to see that everything went smoothly. Dr. Kerr asked whether the official had been prepared for so many people. The official said that he thought he had been prepared; however, he also had thought the voting would go quickly because there would be few people voting. But when the voting started, the place was "descended upon" by people. Everyone was surprised at the turnout. A lot of people had come in from rural areas to vote in La Libertad because they thought it was safer. The threats of violence clearly had not kept people away from the polls. So they were just overwhelmed. One of the reasons they had decided to move some of the tables to another place had been to be able to handle all of the people.

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[1] The local municipal council made the decision to move the eight tables when it failed to get guidance from San Salvador on what to do about the numbers in this town. The municipal election authorities indicat ł that when they talked in San Salvador, they were told that the problem was the same all over the country.

Senator Kassebaum asked whether it would help if the polls could stay open later in the evening. The election official noted that he had told San Salvador earlier in the day that it looked like they would not be able to finish the voting by the end of the afternoon. And they were told that the central authorities were going to try to see what was needed to keep the polls open after 6 p.m. If the decision was made, central election authorities would communicate by radio, television or whatever means available to the whole country that polls could remain open and people could continue voting. The official said his council had called at 10 a.m. and still had not heard anything. He indicated that the law said that they had to close at 6 p.m. But, of course, he would have to listen to the Central Electoral Council. He noted that while it might help to have the polls open longer, there was yet another problem: There was no electricity in the town. The power had gone out at 4:30 in the morning, and they could not leave the polls open because no one could see. Moreover, he feared they might be running out of ballots, too. He had visited some of the tables, and it seemed to him that they might not have enough ballots. He noted that each table had started with only 500 ballots, and in all he had only 10,000 ballots for the polling place. But it was up to the municipal electoral council to ask for more ballots,[2] he noted.

After leaving the schoolroom, the delegation talked in the courtyard with some of the people waiting in line to vote. They asked why were there so many voters here and such crowds? The delegates were told that people were coming from all over the region to vote in La Libertad. The population of the town was about 10,000, but on election day there were 30,000 there, most of whom had walked in from the countryside to vote.[3]

Following its visit to the school, the delegation called San Salvador to report the crowds and to ask that a message be passed to Dr. Bustamente, Chairman of the Central Elections Commission, saying that it might help to hold the polls open until a later hour to accommodate the large crowds. Moreover, the delegation wanted to warn the central election authorities that there might be a crisis with the shortage of ballots at the individual polling tables. They were pleased to hear that there were 2,000 to 10,000 people reported in every polling place visited by the U.S. observers. There were long lines in the east that could be seen from the helicopters. It was reported that Dr. Bustamente was considering extending the hours and that he was looking into the problem of supplying new ballot boxes and additional paper ballots to certain especially heavily voted areas. If additional ballots were needed, the government and army were committed to mobilize every piece of transport equipment available to them. Dr. Kerr commented that he felt this

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[2] It was the delegation's understanding that the municipal councils would have had additional ballots to distribute. The law required that at least 3 percent more ballots than anticipated voters be available at each voting table since the Electoral Council could not predict where the greatest pressure would be felt. This was one of the reasons so many extra ballots were produced. On notification, the municipal council could have counted out additional numbers and assigned them to one of the tables where people still waited to vote.

[3] This was the first time that people could vote anywhere in the country. Therefore, many people went to the larger cities to vote, thinking apparently that the security would be greater. The polling places had been concentrated for similar reasons. But it meant that each major city drew from a much larger area than had been the case previously.

vote to be a "popular revolution. These people are determined to get in there to vote, absolutely determined," he said. He also reported that the observers from the individual parties were all working well together and that the people seemed to be handling the ballots properly but slowly. There had been no trouble between different parties. ARENA, PCD, AD, PCN were represented in La Libertad. The delegation learned that sniper fire was reported in some areas and that one person had been killed in Usulutan where voting had had to be suspended at least temporarily.

The delegation recalled Father Hesburgh's report the night before that Acting Archbishop Rivera y Damas had told him that the "people have made up their minds to vote. They are going to speak with their feet."

From La Libertad, the delegation went to the much smaller municipio of San Juan Talpa, a village with only five voting tables. Again, though it was later in the day, there were still lines of hundreds of people long. In San Juan Talpa, the women stood in one line, the men in another, the two lines single file and side by side, waiting to enter the church where they would vote. One very pregnant woman waited on the sidelines. She indicated that she could not stand in line because of her condition, but that she would wait, hoping that the lines would thin so that she could vote, too. En route to San Juan Talpa, the group passed a man on the main road who was ferrying people to the polling place in his truck. He said he had begun about 6 in the morning and reported that he had made 10 trips already, carrying about 20 in his truck at a time. The delegation talked to the people in the truck and asked why they were making this tremendous trip just to vote. "If we all vote," they said, "we will show the subversives that we want liberty, justice, work and peace." A woman told the delegation that she felt this election was a base for a new society—a change in this country.

After visiting San Juan Talpa and then San Luis, both in the department of La Paz, the delegation moved on to the small village of Olocuitla. There were 15 ballot boxes there. Olocuitla was quieter than any other place the delegates visited and the only place where there seemed to be no lines. By this time, late in the afternoon, the military, which had always been distant from the polling places, had moved closer to the people managing the polling tables, perhaps to chat and break the monotony of the day. The delegation talked with the commanding officer of the soldiers on duty, querying him about the proximity of the soldiers. He assured the observers that the guards were only doing their duty, guaranteeing the election against violence and against fraud. Several of the tables in Olocuitla were closed, and only one or two voters were found at others. Nevertheless, as the delegation entered and as it left, a new truckload of people arrived to vote and for a brief few minutes there was a flurry of activity.

Olocuitla was also without electricity. In this case, the local junta apparently knew beforehand that there was no electricity and therefore was authorized to close the polls by 4 p.m. In spite of the last-minute new arrivals, the local officials did not think that there would be a need to keep the polling open until later in the day.

The delegation made its last stop of the day in Panchimalco, a well-to-do suburb of San Salvador. Again the voting was desultory. The voters seemed to be maids and shopkeepers of the small town, the people who worked for the wealthier homeowners who lived in the region.

The delegation arrived back in San Salvador at approximately 5 p.m. There was sufficient time to return to the Daniel Hernandez School in Santa Tecla to observe the closing of the polls and the counting of ballots. Though the delegation, now including Deputy Assistant Secretary Briggs and Dr. Penniman, arrived at the school shortly after 6 p.m., the process of counting was well underway. Ballot boxes had been overturned, and the ballots dropped onto the tables and sorted according to party, blank and null votes. The votes were counted, and the total checked against the number of ballots issued to the table. Finally, when all numbers were agreed upon, each election official signed the tally sheet and copies were handed out to the party poll watchers present and filed with the municipal authorities. Deputy Assistant Secretary Briggs took note of several vote totals registered at the different tables so as to be able to check them later against final election returns reported at election Central headquarters.

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III. EXPERIENCES OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN MURTHA AND FATHER HESBURGH IN EASTERN EL SALVADOR [4]

The team of Father Hesburgh and Congressman John Murtha elected to fly by helicopter into eastern El Salvador. It had been decided in early discussions among the delegation that the observer mission would not be complete or credible without some report on how the elections were carried out in the disputed areas of the country. Given the threats of violence during the elections, there was concern that the guerrillas, who had greater freedom of movement in eastern departments, would concentrate efforts there.

As with each of the U.S. teams, Father Hesburgh and Congressman Murtha were accompanied by a small media representation, an Embassy escort, a security guard and their Salvadoran helicopter pilot and copilot. The team departed San Salvador from Ilopango Airfield at approximately 9:15 a.m., headed for San Miguel, the third largest city in El Salvador and in the heart of the contested eastern provinces. Flying above San Salvador, the delegation was impressed to see blocks-long lines of people already waiting to vote. The view was repeated over San Vicente and again in San Miguel. San Miguel had experienced hostile fire in the early hours of election morning, and the delegation arrived shortly after a fire fight at the airfield. Father Hesburgh was able to say prayers for a soldier killed in the fighting to the great delight of the soldier's mother and other villagers accompanying the coffin to the burial site. The soldiers informed the delegation that the guerrillas had been repulsed and that voting was taking place.

From San Miguel, the delegation decided to go to the northern province of Morazan and to fly over Perquin, the northernmost city on the Honduran border and one that had exchanged hands between the guerrillas and government forces on several occasions. For reasons of security, it was not advisable to land at Perquin, but on flying over the city, the team again viewed people lined up in the streets outside the polling places. While in the region, Congressman Murtha and Father Hesburgh had their helicopter fly over the El Salvador/Honduran border region in order to be able to answer rumors that people were being bused in from Honduras to vote. They reported they saw no one on the roads except people walking on the very perimeters of the towns themselves. Congressman Murtha stated subsequently that he could not see any way that people could have been bused over the border to vote.

From Perquin, the team flew to Jocura, somewhat to the south of Perquin and out of the mountains. On landing, the team could hear

[4] This section is based on conversations, notes and testimony provided by Father Hesburgh and Congressman Murtha.

firing on the outskirts of the town. Nevertheless, by the time the delegation arrived at the polling place at about 11:20 in the morning, a great number of people had walked into the town, voted and then remained behind enjoying the festive spirit of the day. In Jocura, the delegation talked to each one of the 45 election commissioners tending the 15 voting tables in the city. The officials reported that the system was working well and everything was normal. The delegation asked one family about intimidation and whether the family was afraid of the guerrillas who had threatened to cut off the marked fingers of those who voted or to kill in the afternoon the people who voted in the morning. The head of the family responded, saying that they could kill his neighbor's family, and they could kill his family, but they could not kill all of them. The people would prevail in the end.

The team asked how this election compared to previous elections, and they were told that in the last election the peasants had been bused in and gotten a free lunch. In this election, they walked and got no lunch, but they did get to vote. When questioned, the people indicated clearly that they were voting against violence and for peace and, no matter who was elected, the whole nation was rising up as one person against the threat of violence and the actions of the guerrillas.

The delegation moved next to Ciudad Barrios and again landed and visited with officials at each of the 15 voting tables. asking whether there was any intimidation of voters, whether the system was working well and how the day was going. They were told that the system was working and that no one had been kept away because of intimidation. Some of the voters commented that the turnout was twice as great as any voting session they had ever had before. To the surprise of the delegation members, no one would say how he or she thought the vote would turn out. The people seemed proud that this was the first free and secret election in El Salvador in many years, and even though the people had been registering voters and checking their ability to vote, even though many of the voters were illiterate and had to sign for their ballots with a thumb print, everyone seemed to believe that no one knew how all of the vote would come out.

A similar story was heard in Sensuntepeque, department of Cabanas. The election commissioners there said they thought that perhaps 95 perent of the possible voters were voting. They pointed out that people had come to Sensuntepeque from Morazan, the neighboring department, the night before in order to vote. They said the people were defying the guerrillas in choosing to vote. The team was impressed that the voters seemed to have a sense that people all over the world were watching El Salvador. As in other sites, the voters told the delegation that they were voting for justice, for peace, rejection of the guerrillas and an end to violence. They said that the turnout was a victory for people, for liberty, for peace and for democracy. The language repeated the message of several communiques issued by the Catholic bishops of El Salvador.

In Berlin, Usulutan department, the team was met at the airfield and escorted into town by a crowd of thousands. The townspeople again mentioned that voting was twice as great as it ever had been before in the history of the country. They said that the

vote was free and open and that though they had been menaced by the guerrillas, they were still voting and their vote was victory for the people. Father Hesburgh again spoke enthusiastically to the crowd about democracy, and the delegation was cheered resoundingly as it departed.

IV. ELECTIONS DAY EXPERIENCES OF CONGRESSMAN BOB LIVINGSTON AND DR. HOWARD PENNIMAN IN SOUTHWESTERN EL SALVADOR AND DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE EVERETT E. BRIGGS IN METROPOLITAN SAN SALVADOR

Congressman Bob Livingston and Dr. Howard Penniman elected to travel by car to the western region of El Salvador. They departed at 7:30 a.m., the first of the three U.S. official observer teams to leave San Salvador, and they returned by 4 p.m., stopping at about 10 polling sites along the way.

Congressman Livingston remarked on the intensity of emotion he felt on seeing the crowds of people already lined up at the early hours:

> We had been led to believe . . . that we would be lucky if we got a 40-percent turn out, or about 500,000 people.
>
> We were led to believe . . . that a lot of people just would not take the effort to get to the polls, that most people figured that the election might be much like those which had transpired in the past when there was ballot-box stuffing and fraudulent activity, and that perhaps they just did not believe in these elections.
>
> Well, those illusions quickly evaporated when we stopped at that first polling place. We pulled up, and there were thousands of people in the street. Before we arrived, we had passed people walking toward town, and we thought, frankly, that they were going to church.
>
> But when we got there and saw these throngs of people, all well organized, all standing in long lines, lines lasting for blocks and blocks in sardine fashion, . . . belly to back, one after the other all calmly standing in the hot sun, most of them having walked there for 8, 10, 12 kilometers . . . I could not help but swell up with tears. (Testimony before Senate Foreign Relations Committee, April 2, 1982.)

Dr. Penniman was also impressed at the long lines of voters and observed that they were the longest lines he had ever seen in the 45 elections he has observed. The lines were longer even than in the Zimbabwe elections in 1979. Dr. Penniman noted, however, that long lines are typical of the elections experience in most Catholic countries that vote on Sundays. Voters either attend mass early in the morning, then go to vote after which they have the day free, or they vote first, then go to mass. In both cases, the tendency is for a bunching of voting in the early hours after the polls open. The lines diminish rapidly in length in the last half of the day. Dr. Penniman said that this proved to be true in El Salvador also. While the lines surprised many in the early morning, by mid-afternoon most had disappeared. Indeed, when the delegation stopped in Tecla, one of the last towns on their itinerary, at about 4 o'clock, officials at several voter tables were already counting ballots.

As in other areas in the west, the officials organized themselves to reduce confusion in the waiting lines. Everywhere observers noted the straight, orderly lines of people waiting patiently to get

near the polling place. Only in the crowd closest to the polling site was there a tendency to see crowding and disorder. In Achapan, the voters organized lines across from the polling place in a small park. Then as one group would leave the polling area, 50 to 60 more would enter in a group. This avoided the rushing and crowding observed in other areas as voters sought their turn to get into the often very confined spaces of the polling sites. Dr. Penniman recalled that in only one place—Acajutla on the coast—did he hear stories of real anger and pushing among the crowds. There a woman said she had been robbed and stepped on, but no one would support her statement that this occurred. Concerned that voters would not have the patience to stay in the lines until they would have an opportunity to vote, the delegates asked several about this. Most said they would wait until they had a chance to vote, but one woman said that she would only wait until 1 o'clock, and if she had not been able to vote by then, she would go home.

The delegates asked voters everywhere why they had come to vote. The answers were always the same: I am here because I believe in the future of my country. I am here to cast a free ballot for my country. I am here because I want to reject the threats and the intimidation.

Dr. Penniman was impressed at the efficiency with which the voting procedures worked. He noted that they had been kept very simple intentionally. Ballots were numbered to insure against fraud in distribution. Each ballot was signed by two election officials at the polling table. The voters' national identity card (cedula) was checked by three election officials at the table in the presence of poll watchers representing each of the parties. The check was made by passing the special ultraviolet light over the pages of the booklet.

Once it was established that the voter had not voted previously—a near impossibility, given the long lines at nearly all polling places—the voter signed the elections registry (or, if he could not write, an election official entered his name for him, and the voter made his mark beside the entry). He was handed a ballot and entered the voting "booth" to cast his vote. On leaving, he had the cédula stamped "I voted" (*voté*) in invisible ink. A mark was made with the same invisible ink on the third joint of the right index finger. This mark would fade in about 15–20 hours and could be seen only under the ultra-violet light provided at each table.

A few election officials and observers reported having trouble with the light. One suggested that the batteries might be weak. Penniman noted that when a light went out or gave trouble, officials would go to another table and borrow the light from them. This slowed down the process of checking cedulas, and probably after a time, some of the voters may have been allowed to go through the lines without checking the ink mark. Nevertheless, of all the tables he visited, he saw only one light that did not work, in Sonsonate. Congressman Murtha noted that in the east, only one light in the 75–80 polling places he visited with Father Hesburgh did not work. He and Father Hesburgh had made a point to have their own fingers marked with the invisible ink to test the lights at the individual tables.

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Everett E. Briggs travelled to polling places in the cities of San Salvador and in Usulutan. In both places bombs interrupted voting from time to time. But, though the people would run for cover when a blast sounded, they would return as soon as they were convinced the bombing would not continue. Briggs recalled that one time in San Antonio Abad, a town that was harrassed throughout the day, he heard a cry, "They're going to attack again"; but, hearing no sound, the people continued to stand in their lines at the polling place, waiting to enter.

Mr. Briggs observed that in spite of the general level of literacy in the country and the fact that many voters were voting for the first time, there was very little confusion or question about procedures for actually marking the ballot. The voters' right to privacy was carefully respected. Nevertheless, he recalled on one occasion election officials allowed an old lady who was confused and could not read to be assisted in the booth by her 12-year-old granddaughter.

Later in the day, the observers noted that the soldiers who had guarded the polling places throughout the day moved closer to the polling places than they were supposed to under law. They were orderly, however, and did not interfere with the voting. In Santa Ana, Dr. Penniman recalled that the military band was playing in the town square to entertain the people in the final hours of the day.

Dr. Penniman and Deputy Assistant Secretary Briggs returned to a number of polling sites in the city of San Salvador to observe the counting of votes. They wrote down at random the tallies prepared on the official election affidavits and later compared them with the totals reported by the Central Elections Commission. Mr. Briggs recalled that 511 votes had been cast at one table. Of these, four had been marked with expletives, 11 had been marked incorrectly, apparently out of ignorance, and the officials doing the tabulating could not decide how to categorize five other invalid votes and these were submitted to a committee of higher officials' for decision. Both Mr. Briggs and Dr. Penniman reported they could find no discrepancies in the votes reported from the tables they had checked.

Deputy Assistant Secretary Briggs also witnessed the harrassment that voters experienced in Apopa, a small town on the outskirts of San Salvador on the highway leading north to Chalatenango. Those events were described in detail by other American observers, Professors Thomas P. Anderson of Eastern Connecticut State College and Enrique Baloyra of the University of North Carolina:

> When we got to Apopa, a small town on the Troncal del Norte highway leading north to Chalátenango from San Salvador, practically no one was on the street. It was already 7 a.m. and this seemed to indicate to us that the election would be a bust in towns like Apopa, Guazapa and Aguilares, in the middle of "Indian country," which we intended to visit later on. The reason why very few people were on the street was that we had managed to drive into town in the middle of an army sweep that was trying to dislodge some *muchachos* or *subversivos* from the area between the town square and the "Vicente Acosta" school, where the voting was supposed to take place. To be sure, the guerrillas were not shooting at would-be voters

but they were creating a line of fire between the school and the two streets leading to it from the middle of town.

After we had managed to park the car, get out of the line of fire, and move closer to the town square most of the shooting was to the right and ahead of us. At about 7:30 a sergeant came into the plaza and shouted that he thought the way was clear. This is when we saw the election come alive as people began to spring up from under cars, from behind trees and verandas and everything that can hide a human being in a situation like this. About 500 people came out of nowhere and began to march down the street toward the school. Some were in their Sunday best, others were laughing and making jokes about the situation. Some were intrigued by our presence and wanted to know if we were some kind of observers. Gunfire made us stop a couple of more times, and most of this growing contingent of people had to wait until about 8:30 a.m. before they were able to get into the school. This gave us a chance to ask them why they were going on with this. We were especially intrigued by the number of young males in the crowd; we did not expect to see this group except as guerrillas, army conscripts, or disappeared persons. Yet they were very much in evidence in this crowd, and they provided most of the entertainment every time the firefight died down. There must have been about 2,000 people in the small school patio when the polls finally opened. The soldiers would not let anyone on the second floor, from which they would occasionally fire at the guerrillas. Around 9:30 a.m. a TV crew got to the school and then we were all treated to about 3 minutes of M-60 and M-16 fire. This mock aspect of the firefight did not end until one person in our party went up and told the camera crew that the soldiers would keep on firing for as long as their camera kept clicking.

The casualties of the Apopa firefight were two dead, both national guardsmen including one kidnapped the night before the election and shot in front of the school where his blood formed a gruesome pool, and three soldiers wounded. Needless to say, the Salvadoran military were behaving themselves during these days, particularly after the assassination of the four Dutch journalists, and they were very cooperative with all foreigners and, as far as this is possible in El Salvador, relatively cordial to their own people. In Apopa we saw their human side, even their fear at times, but were not particularly impressed with the desire to engage the guerrillas. Some of the NCOs complained about the absence of officers in the area—we only saw one officer, a burly lieutenant, at the beginning of the firefight. No one seemed to be in charge. Their orders might have been to protect the polling place first but, after all, two guerrillas were entrenched only one hundred meters from the entrance of the school and, at times, there were no army or national guard elements between the entrance and the guerrillas' position. When we left the area at about 10 a.m. the guerrillas were still there.

(From Opinion: El Salvador: The elections of 28 March, 1982, Latin American Studies Association Newsletter (XIII:2, Summer 1982), p. 11.)

APPENDIX A.—PROVINCIAL VOTING STATISTICS

CENTRAL ELECTION COMMISSION RESULTS OF VOTING ON MARCH 28, BY DEPARTMENT

Department	ARENA	PAD	PCN	PDC	POP	PPS	Total valid votes	Nullified ballots	Abstention ballots	Ballots challenged	Ballots not utilized	Ballots destroyed	Total ballots
San Salvador	87,861	40,254	37,954	145,076	4,430	14,518	330,093	32,488	9,940	2,329	66,574	988	442,412
Santa Ana	39,909	12,792	24,687	67,851	2,023	5,383	152,645	14,224	7,137	440	54,759	544	229,749
San Miguel	33,329	6,343	29,313	42,065	0	2,349	113,399	10,295	2,584	215	27,668	944	155,105
La Libertad	46,653	11,677	23,881	65,453	2,288	5,282	155,234	15,224	7,800	831	26,921	530	206,540
Usulutan	18,219	3,195	10,084	18,089	761	1,847	52,195	3,794	1,779	103	19,902	932	78,705
Sonsonate	37,783	7,499	20,926	47,977	0	3,552	117,737	11,072	3,842	662	11,904	134	145,351
La Union	20,044	2,300	24,876	25,118	1,097	1,333	74,768	5,033	1,754	244	30,470	1,004	113,273
La Paz	21,627	4,126	17,930	31,931	0	1,961	77,575	7,960	3,463	627	22,538	233	112,396
Chalatenango	20,919	1,616	12,085	20,141	579	991	56,331	4,341	2,442	422	20,764	171	84,471
Cuscatlan	23,734	2,633	12,227	15,977	607	1,071	56,249	7,260	3,102	238	23,795	48	90,692
Ahuachapan	23,605	3,270	12,746	27,723	789	0	68,133	7,965	3,620	120	19,006	155	98,999
Morazan	8,239	1,553	7,874	13,684	0	486	31,836	3,044	703	27	18,618	260	54,488
San Vicente	8,146	2,269	11,741	14,599	0	731	37,486	5,180	1,404	101	29,397	41	73,609
Cabanas	12,236	1,059	14,829	10,534	0	0	38,658	3,618	1,868	53	26,675	215	71,087
Total pais	402,304	100,586	261,153	546,218	12,574	39,504	1,362,339	131,498	51,438	6,412	398,991	6,199	1,956,877

Total number of voters: 1,551,687

Key: ARENA: Nationalist Republican Alliance. PAD: Democratic Action Party. PCN: National Conciliation Party. PDC: Christian Democratic Party. POP: Popular Orientation Party. PPS: Salvadoran Popular Party.
Nullified Ballots: Ballots defaced or otherwised not able to be tallied for one of the candidate parties. Several were marked with FDR, some with obscenities and some with curse words.
Abstentions: Blank ballots, ballots cast but not marked.
Ballots challenged: Ballots on which the election officials at the tally table were unable to determine how to register. Some were marked outside the appropriate box; some seemed to select two options instead of only one. These ballots were referred to higher authorities for decision.

APPENDIX B.—VOTING SITES AND NUMBER OF VOTER TABLES

[From LA PRESNA Grafica, Mar. 26, 1982]

DEPARTMENT OF SAN SALVADOR 1,185 Juntas

1.—MUNICIPIO SAN SALVADOR = 500 Juntas.

a) Instituto Tecnológico "Francisco Menéndez" 20 Av. y 29 Calle Poniente ..... =50
b) Tercer Ciclo Básico "General Francisco Menéndez" Calle a San Antonio Abad ..... =60
c) Escuela "María Cherri" 29 Calle Poniente ..... =30
d) Escuela "Concha v. de Escalón" Col. Escalón ..... =30
e) Instituto Técnico Industrial-Boulevard Venezuela ..... =40
f) Escuela Nacional de Comercio-San Salvador ..... =30
g) Instituto "Manuel J. Arce" y Escuela "República del Brasil", contiguo a Zoológico ..... =40
h) Escuela "Juana López" Col. Miranda, San Antonio Abad ..... =20
i) Escuela 5 de Noviembre, 4a. Calle Oriente, Centro Urbano Lourdes ..... =50
j) Escuela "Republica de Chile", Calle Concepción ..... =50
k) Escuela "Joaquin Rodezno", 3a. Calle Poniente ..... =20
l) Gimnasio Nacional, San Salvador ..... =40
m) Escuela "Ramón Belloso", San Salvador ..... =40

TOTAL 13 PUESTOS DE VOTACION.

2.—MUNICIPIO DELGADO = 100 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Edelmira Molina", Av. Juan Bertis ..... =40
b) Escuela "12 de Octubre", Av. Paleca ..... =30
c) Tercer Ciclo "15 de Septiembre", 6a. Av. Nte. ..... =30

TOTAL 3 PUESTOS DE VOTACION.

3.—MUNICIPIO MEJICANOS = 110 Juntas.

a) Grupo Escolar Japón, Col. Palmira ..... =30
b) Escuela Metropolitana, Zacamil ..... =30
c) Escuela República Oriental del Uruguay, Zacamil ..... =20
d) Escuela Amalia v. de Menéndez, 7a. C. Pte. 16 ..... =30

TOTAL 4 PUESTOS DE VOTACION.

4.—MUNICIPIO SOYAPANGO = 100 Juntas.

a) Grupo Escolar "Antonio José Cañas" Panamericana ..... =20
b) Escuela Leonardo Azcúnaga ..... =20
c) Escuela Colonia Guadalupe ..... =30
d) Escuela Unif. Col. Amatepec ..... =30

TOTAL 4 PUESTOS DE VOTACION.

5.—MUNICIPIO CUSCATANCINGO = 40 Juntas.

a) Grupo Escolar "Tomás Cabrera", Calle Central ..... =40

6.—MUNICIPIO SAN MARCOS = 50 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Ignacio Pacheco Castro", Col. Azucena ..... =50

7.—MUNICIPIO ILOPANGO = 50 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Fabio Castillo" ..... =20
b) Escuela "Kennedy" ..... =30

TOTAL 2 PUESTOS DE VOTACION.

8.—MUNICIPIO NEJAPA = 20 Juntas.

a) Escuela "José M. Delgado" ..... =20

9.—MUNICIPIO APOPA = 40 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Vicente Acosta" ..... =40

10.—MUNICIPIO SAN MARTIN = 30 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Jorge Lardé" ..... =30

11.—MUNICIPIO PANCHIMALCO = 15 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Bernadino Villamariona" ..... =15

12.—MUNICIPIO AGUILARES = 20 Juntas.
a) Grupo Escolar "Modesto Barrios" ..... =20
13.—MUNICIPIO TONACATEPEQUE = 20 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Nicolás Aguilar No. 1" ..... =20
14.—MUNICIPIO SANTO TOMAS = 20 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Manuel Belgrano" ..... =20
15.—MUNICIPIO SANTIAGO TEXACUANGOS = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "José M. Calderón" ..... =10
16.—MUNICIPIO EL PAISNAL = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Urbana Mixta" ..... =10
17.—MUNICIPIO GUAZAPA = 15 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Delfina de Diaz" ..... =15
18.—MUNICIPIO AYUTUXTEPEQUE = 30 Juntas.
a) Grupo Escolar "Doroteo Vasconcelos" ..... =10
b) Grupo Escolar "Arturo Romero" ..... =20
TOTAL 2 PUESTOS DE VOTACION.
19.—MUNICIPIO ROSARIO DE MORA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Manuel J. Arce" ..... =5

DEPARTMENT OF SANTA ANA 460 Juntas

1.—MUNICIPIO SANTA ANA = 230 Juntas.
a) Escuela Experimental Tomás Medina ..... =40
b) Escuela "General Gerardo Barrios" Final Av. Independencia ..... =40
c) Escuela "Leopoldo Nuñez" 5a. Av. Nte. y 6a. Calle Oriente ..... =30
d) Escuela "Rafael Alvarez Lalinde" ..... =30
e) Escuela "República de Venezuela" 9a. C. Oriente y 13 Av. Sur ..... =30
f) Escuela "República de Guatemala" Bo. San Antonio ..... =30
g) Escuela "Tomás Medina" Av. José Matias Delgado y 9a. Calle Poniente ..... =30
TOTAL 7 PUESTOS DE VOTACION.
2.—MUNICIPIO CHALCHUAPA = 60 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Guadalupe Retana" ..... =30
b) Escuela "Benito Juárez" ..... =30
TOTAL 2 PUESTOS DE VOTACION.
3.—MUNICIPIO METAPAN = 60 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Rodrigo J. Leiva" ..... =30
b) Escuela "República de Guatemala" ..... =30
TOTAL 2 PUESTOS DE VOTACION.
4.—MUNICIPIO COATEPEQUE = 30 Juntas.
a) Kinder Nacional ..... =15
b) Instituto Nacional "Gustavo V. Valdez" ..... =15
TOTAL 2 PUESTOS DE VOTACION.
5.—MUNICIPIO EL CONGO = 15 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta No. 1 ..... =15
6.—MUNICIPIO TEXISTEPEQUE = 20 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Salvador Martinez Figueroa" ..... =20
7.—MUNICIPIO CANDELARIA DE LA FRONTERA = 15 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Soledad Moreño de Benavides" ..... =15
8.—MUNICIPIO SAN SEBASTIAN SALITRILLO = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Dr. Alberto Luna" ..... =5
9.—MUNICIPIO SANTA ROSA GUACHIPILIN = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Unificada ..... =5
10.—MUNICIPIO SANTIAGO DE LA FRONTERA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela de Santiago de la Frontera ..... =5
11.—MUNICIPIO EL PORVENIR = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Casa Comunal ..... =5
12.—MUNICIPIO MASAHUAT = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Unificada Masahuat ..... =5
13.—MUNICIPIO SAN ANTONIO PAJONAL = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "José Maria Salazar España" ..... =5

DEPARTMENT OF SAN MIGUEL 365 Juntas

1.—MUNICIPIO SAN MIGUEL = 140 Juntas.
a) Tercer Ciclo "Isidro Menéndez" Final 7a. Av. Sur ..... =30
b) Escuela Confederación Suiza, 5a. Av. Nte. y 6a. Calle Poniente ..... =40
c) Escuela "Dr. Antonio Rosales" 3a. y 5a. Calle Oriente y 4a. Av. Sur ..... =40
d) Escuela "Pablo J. Aguirre" 6a. Calle Oriente y 6a. Av. Norte ..... =30

TOTAL 4 PUESTOS DE VOTACION.

2.—MUNICIPIO CHINAMECA = 20 Juntas.

a) Tercer Ciclo de Chinameca ..... =20

3.—MUNICIPIO EL TRANSITO = 20 Juntas.

a) Escuela "14 de Abril" ..... =20

4.—MUNICIPIO CIUDAD BARRIOS = 20 Juntas.

a) Escuela "General Francisco Morazán" ..... =20

5.—MUNICIPIO CHIRILAGUA = 20 Juntas.

a) Escuela "David J. Guzmán" ..... =20

6.—MUNICIPIO SESORI = 10 Juntas.

a) Dr. Manuel Quijano Hernández ..... =10

7.—MUNICIPIO SAN RAFAEL ORIENTE = 15 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Alberto Masferrer" ..... =15

8.—MUNICIPIO MONCAGUA = 20 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Maria Luisa Parada" ..... =20

9.—MUNICIPIO LOLOTIQUE = 15 Juntas

a) Escuela "Urbana Mixta Lolotique" ..... =15

10.—MUNICIPIO SAN JORGE = 15 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Juan Pablo Espinoza" ..... =15

11.—MUNICIPIO CHAPELTIQUE = 10 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Eliseo Henriquez" ..... =10

12.—MUNICIPIO SAN GERARDO = 10 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Urbana Mixta" ..... =10

13.—MUNICIPIO CAROLINA = 10 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Urbana Mixta" ..... =10

14.—MUNICIPIO QUELEPA = 5 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Anita Velez" ..... =5

15.—MUNICIPIO SAN LUIS DE LA REINA = 10 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Urbana Mixta" ..... =10

16.—MUNICIPIO NUEVO EDEN DE SAN JUAN = 5 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Urbana Mixta" ..... =5

17.—MUNICIPIO NUEVA GUADALUPE = 5 Juntas.

a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5

18.—MUNICIPIO ULUAZAPA = 5 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Maria Lucinda Vargas" ..... =5

19.—MUNICIPIO COMACARAN = 5 Juntas.

a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5

20.—MUNICIPIO SAN ANTONIO = 5 Juntas.

a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5

DEPARTMENT OF LA LIBERTAD 400 Juntas

1.—MUNICIPIO NUEVA SAN SALVADOR = 80 Juntas.

a) Instituto Nacional "J. D. Villacorta" 2a. Calle Oriente No. 5-1 ..... =40

b) Escuela "Daniel Hernandez" 2a. C. Pte. y 4a. Av. Sur ..... =40

TOTAL 2 LUGARES DE VOTACION.

2.—MUNICIPIO QUEZALTEPEQUE = 50 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Jose Dolores Larreynaga" ..... =50

3.—MUNICIPIO CIUDAD ARCE = 30 Juntas.

a) Tercer Ciclo Básico ..... =30

4.—MUNICIPIO SAN JUAN OPICO = 40 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Santos Novoa" ..... =40

5.—MUNICIPIO COLON = 30 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Elena Quezada de Angulo" ..... =30

6.—MUNICIPIO LA LIBERTAD = 20 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Alianza" ..... =20

7.—MUNICIPIO ANTIGUO CUSCATLAN = 30 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Walter T. Deinenger" ..... =30

8.—MUNICIPIO COMASAGUA = 10 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Estados Unidos de América" ..... =10

9.—MUNICIPIO SAN PABLO TACACHICO = 15 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Jesús Leocadio Palencia" ..... =15

10.—MUNICIPIO JAYAQUE = 10 Juntas.

a) Escuela "Calixto Velado" ..... =10

11.—MUNICIPIO HUIZUCAR = 10 Juntas.

a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =10

12.—MUNICIPIO TEPECOYO = 9 Juntas.

a) Escuela Unificada ..... =9

13.—MUNICIPIO TEOTEPEQUE = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =10
14.—MUNICIPIO CHILTIUPAN = 7 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Juan Diaz" ..... =7
15.—MUNICIPIO NUEVO CUSCATLAN = 6 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Pedro Pablo Castillo" ..... =6
16.—MUNICIPIO TAMANIQUE = 9 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =9
17.—MUNICIPIO SACACOYO = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Unificada ..... =5
18.—MUNICIPIO SAN JOSE VILLANUEVA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5
19.—MUNICIPIO ZARAGOZA = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela José Maria Cáceres ..... =10
20.—MUNICIPIO TALNIQUE = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Unificada ..... =5
21.—MUNICIPIO SAN MATIAS = 6 Juntas.
a) Escuela Natalia López ..... =6
22.—MUNICIPIO JICALAPA = 3 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =3

DEPARTMENT OF USULUTAN 317 Juntas

1.—MUNICIPIO USULUTAN = 60 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Basilio Blandón" ..... =30
b) Escuela "Manuela E. Córdova" ..... =30
TOTAL 2 PUESTOS DE VOTACION.
2.—MUNICIPIO JIQUILISCO = 40 Juntas.
a) Escuela "República Federal Centroamericana" ..... =40
3.—MUNICIPIO BERLIN = 20 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Dr. Alonso Reyes Guerra" ..... =20
4.—MUNICIPIO SANTIAGO DE MARIA = 15 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Dolores de Jesús Montoya" ..... =15
5.—MUNICIPIO JUCUAPA = 15 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Miguel A. Garcia" ..... =15
6.—MUNICIPIO SANTA ELENA = 20 Juntas.
a) Escuela "14 Diciembre de 1948" ..... =20
7.—MUNICIPIO JUCUARAN = 20 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Enrique Magaña Menéndez" ..... =20
8.—MUNICIPIO SAN AGUSTIN = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela Unificada ..... =10
9.—MUNICIPIO OZATLAN = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela Unificada ..... =10
10.—MUNICIPIO ESTANZUELAS = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Fernando Portillo" ..... =10
11.—MUNICIPIO MERCEDES UMAÑA = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Lisandro Arévalo" ..... =10
12.—MUNICIPIO ALEGRIA = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Alberto Masferrer" ..... =10
13.—MUNICIPIO CONCEPCION BATRES = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela Unificada ..... =10
14.—MUNICIPIO SAN FRANCISCO JAVIER = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Francisco Lima e Hijas" ..... =10
15.—MUNICIPIO PUERTO EL TRIUNFO = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela Unificada ..... =10
16.—MUNICIPIO TECAPAN = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela Unificada ..... =10
17.—MUNICIPIO SAN DIONISIO = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela Unificada ..... =10
18.—MUNICIPIO EREGUAYQUIN = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Unificada ..... =5
19.—MUNICIPIO SANTA MARIA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5
20.—MUNICIPIO NUEVA GRANADA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Jackelyn Kennedy" ..... =5
21.—MUNICIPIO EL TRIUNFO = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Franklin Delano Roosevelt" ..... =5

22.—MUNICIPIO SAN BUENAVENTURA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5
23.—MUNICIPIO CALIFORNIA = 2 Juntas.
a) Escuela Unificada ..... =2

DEPARTMENT OF SONSONATE 285 Juntas

1.—MUNICIPIO SONSONATE = 70 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Dolores de Brito" 6a. Av. Sur (Contiguo Centro Penal) ..... =70
2.—MUNICIPIO IZALCO = 40 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Pedro F. Cantor" ..... =40
3.—MUNICIPIO ACAJUTLA = 40 Juntas.
Escuela "Lisandro Larin Zepeda" ..... =40
4.—MUNICIPIO ARMENIA = 30 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Alberto R. Trigueros" ..... =30
5.—MUNICIPIO NAHUIZALCO = 20 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Estado de Israel" ..... =20
6.—MUNICIPIO JUAYUA = 20 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Fray Bartolomé de las Casas" ..... =20
7.—MUNICIPIO SAN JULIAN = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Juan Pablo Duarte" ..... =10
8.—MUNICIPIO SONZACATE = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Humberto Romero Alvergue" ..... =10
9.—MUNICIPIO SAN ANTONIO DEL MONTE = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "República del Libano" ..... =10
10.—MUNICIPIO NAHUILINGO = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Cristóbal Colón" ..... = 5
11.—MUNICIPIO CUISNAHUAT = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Cristóbal Ibarra Mejicanos" ..... = 5
12.—MUNICIPIO SANTA CATARINA MASAHUAT = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... = 5
13.—MUNICIPIO CALUCO = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... = 5
14.—MUNICIPIO SANTA ISABEL ISHUATAN = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Maria Mendoza de Baratta" ..... = 5
15.—MUNICIPIO SALCOATITAN = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Juan Henriquez Pestalozzi" ..... = 5
16.—MUNICIPIO SANTO DOMINGO = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... = 5

DEPARTMENT OF LA UNION 240 Juntas

1.—MUNICIPIO LA UNION = 40 Juntas.
a) Escuela "José Pantoja" ..... =40
2.—MUNICIPIO SANTA ROSA DE LIMA = 30 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Trinidad Sánchez de Quezada" ..... =30
3.—MUNICIPIO PASAQUINA = 20 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta Unificada ..... =20
4.—MUNICIPIO SAN ALEJO = 20 Juntas.
a) Escuela República de Argentina ..... =20
5.—MUNICIPIO ANAMOROS = 20 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta Unificada ..... =20
6.—MUNICIPIO EL CARMEN = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =10
7.—MUNICIPIO CONCHAGUA = 20 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Mario Gómez" ..... =20
8.—MUNICIPIO EL SAUCE = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "José Francisco Barrundia" ..... =10
9.—MUNICIPIO LISLIQUE = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela Unificada ..... =10
10.—MUNICIPIO YUCUAIQUIN = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... = 5
11.—MUNICIPIO NUEVA ESPARTA = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "José Simeón Cañas" ..... =10
12.—MUNICIPIO POLOROS = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta Unificada ..... =10
13.—MUNICIPIO BOLIVAR = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... = 5

14.—MUNICIPIO CONCEPCION DE ORIENTE = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela Isidro Vásquez ..... =10
15.—MUNICIPIO INTIPUCA = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =10
16.—MUNICIPIO SAN JOSE = 4 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... = 4
17.—MUNICIPIO YAYANTIQUE = 4 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... = 4
18.—MUNICIPIO MEANGUERA DEL GOLFO = 2 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... = 2

DEPARTMENT OF LA PAZ 223 Juntas

1.—MUNICIPIO ZACATECOLUCA = 70 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Lucia de Villacorta" ..... = 40
b) Instituto "José Simeón Cañas" ..... = 30
TOTAL 2 PUESTOS DE VOTACION.
2.—MUNICIPIO SANTIAGO NONUALCO = 30 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Niñas Cuscatlán" ..... = 30
3.—MUNICIPIO SAN JUAN NONUALCO = 20 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta Unificada ..... = 20
4.—MUNICIPIO SAN PEDRO MASAHUAT = 15 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Nemesia Luna" ..... = 15
5.—MUNICIPIO OLOCUILTA = 15 Juntas.
a) Tercer Ciclo Básico ..... = 15
6.—MUNICIPIO SAN PEDRO NONUALCO = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Timoteo Liévano" ..... = 10
7.—MUNICIPIO SAN FRANCISCO CHINAMECA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Claudia Lars" ..... = 5
8.—MUNICIPIO SAN JUAN TALPA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta "SALARRUE" ..... = 5
9.—MUNICIPIO ROSARIO = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Fabio Ignacio Magaña" ..... = 10
10.—MUNICIPIO SAN RAFAEL = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Rafael Osorioh ..... = 5
11.—MUNICIPIO SANTA MARIA OSTUMA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Coronel Carlos Flores Benitez" ..... = 5
12.—MUNICIPIO SAN LUIS = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta Unificada ..... = 10
13.—MUNICIPIO SAN ANTONIO MASAHUAT = 3 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Maria Esther Alfaro" ..... = 3
14.—MUNICIPIO SAN MIGUEL TEPEZONTES = 4 Juntas.
a) Escuela Unificada "La Paz" ..... = 4
15.—MUNICIPIO SAN JUAN TEPEZONTES = 3 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Manuela Minero de Mejía" ..... = 3
16.—MUNICIPIO TAPALHUACA = 4 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Marcos Ochoa" ..... = 4
17.—MUNICIPIO CUYULTITAN = 2 Juntas.
a) Escuela Victorino Ayala ..... = 2
18.—MUNICIPIO PARAISO DE OSORIO = 2 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... = 2
19.—MUNICIPIO SAN EMIGDIO = 2 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... = 2
20.—MUNICIPIO JERUSALEN = 2 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... = 2
21.—MUNICIPIO MERCEDES LA CEIBA = 1 Junta.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... = 1

DEPARTMENT OF CHALATENANGO 192 Juntas

1.—MUNICIPIO CHALATENANGO = 30 Juntas.
a) Escuela Felipe Solano ..... = 30
2.—MUNICIPIO NUEVA CONCEPCION = 20 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... = 20
3.—MUNICIPIO LA PALMA = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela 22 de Junio ..... = 10
4.—MUNICIPIO TEJUTLA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Ponciana Ramirez ..... = 5

5.—MUNICIPIO LA REINA = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta "Dr. Julio E. Avila" ..... =10
6.—MUNICIPIO ARCATAD = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Leandro Maria Guardado" ..... =5
7.—MUNICIPIO SAN IGNACIO = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "José Marti" ..... =5
8.—MUNICIPIO DULCE NOMBRE DE MARIA = 7 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Francisco Gavidia" ..... =7
9.—MUNICIPIO CITALA = 4 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Salvador Mendieta" ..... =4
10.—MUNICIPIO AGUA CALIENTE = 7 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =7
11.—MUNICIPIO CONCEPCION QUEZALTEPEQUE = 8 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =8
12.—MUNICIPIO NUEVA TRINIDAD = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5
13.—MUNICIPIO LAS VUELTAS = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5
14.—MUNICIPIO COMALAPA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Manuel José Arce" ..... =5
15.—MUNICIPIO SAN RAFAEL = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Salarrué" ..... =5
16.—MUNICIPIO LAS FLORES = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5
17.—MUNICIPIO OJOS DE AGUA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5
18.—MUNICIPIO NOMBRE DE JESUS = 3 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =3
19.—MUNICIPIO POTONICO = 3 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =3
20.—MUNICIPIO SAN FRANCISCO MORAZAN = 4 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Alfredo Espino" ..... =4
21.—MUNICIPIO SANTA RITA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5
22.—MUNICIPIO LA LAGUNA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5
23.—MUNICIPIO SAN ISIDRO LABRADOR = 3 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =3
24.—MUNICIPIO SAN ANTONIO DE LA CRUZ = 2 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =2
25.—MUNICIPIO EL PARAISO = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Fray Bartolomé de las Casas" ..... =5
26.—MUNICIPIO SAN MIGUEL DE MERCEDES = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Francisco Morazán" ..... =5
27.—MUNICIPIO SAN LUIS DEL CARMEN = 2 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Juan E. Coto" ..... =2
28.—MUNICIPIO CANCASQUE = 4 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =4
29.—MUNICIPIO SAN ANTONIO LOS RANCHOS = 2 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =2
30.—MUNICIPIO EL CARRIZAL = 2 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =2
31.—MUNICIPIO SAN FERNANDO = 2 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =2
32.—MUNICIPIO AZACUALPA = 2 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Presbitero Raúl E. Rivas" ..... =2
33.—MUNICIPIO SAN FRANCISCO LEMPA = 2 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Abel de J. Alas" ..... =2

DEPARTMENT OF CUSCATLAN 183 Juntas

1.—MUNICIPIO COJUTEPEQUE = 40 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Néstor Salamanca" ..... =40
2.—MUNICIPIO SUCHITOTO = 30 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Isaac Ruiz Araujo" ..... =30
3.—MUNICIPIO SAN PEDRO PERULAPAN = 30 Juntas.
a) Escuela "General Francisco Morazán" ..... =30

4.—MUNICIPIO SAN JOSE GUAYABAL = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =10
5.—MUNICIPIO TENANCINGO = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Dr. Manuel E. Araujo" ..... =10
6.—MUNICIPIO SAN RAFAEL CEDROS = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Florencia Rivas" ..... =10
7.—MUNICIPIO CANDELARIA = 8 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Marcos Gómez Núñez" ..... =8
8.—MUNICIPIO EL CARMEN = 8 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =8
9.—MUNICIPIO MONTE SAN JUAN = 8 Juntas.
a) Escuela "José María Lémus" ..... =8
10.—MUNICIPIO SAN CRISTOBAL = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5
11.—MUNICIPIO SANTA CRUZ MICHAPA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Felipe Soto" ..... =5
12.—MUNICIPIO SAN BARTOLOME PERULAPIA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Tomás Regalado" ..... =5
13.—MUNICIPIO SAN RAMON = 4 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Rafael Cabrera" ..... =4
14.—MUNICIPIO EL ROSARIO = 4 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Monseñor Luis Chávez y González" ..... =4
15.—MUNICIPIO ORATORIO DE CONCEPCION = 4 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Dr. Pio Romero Bosque" ..... =4
16.—MUNICIPIO SANTA CRUZ ANALQUITO = 2 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =2

DEPARTMENT OF AHUACHAPAN 199 Juntas

1.—MUNICIPIO AHUACHAPAN = 60 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Isidro Menéndez" ..... =30
b) 3er. Ciclo "Alejandro Humboldt" ..... =30
TOTAL 2 PUESTOS DE VOTACION.
2.—MUNICIPIO ATIQUIZAYA = 30 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Mercedes Monterrosa de Cárcamo" ..... =30
3.—MUNICIPIO SAN FRANCISCO MENENDEZ = 20 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =20
4.—MUNICIPIO TACUBA = 20 Juntas.
a) Escuela "José Martí" ..... =20
5.—MUNICIPIO CONCEPCION DE ATACO = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Antonio J. Alfaro" ..... =10
6.—MUNICIPIO JUJUTLA = 20 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Sixto Padilla" ..... =20
7.—MUNICIPIO GUAYMANGO = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =10
8.—MUNICIPIO APANECA = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Francisco Menéndez" ..... =10
9.—MUNICIPIO SAN PEDRO PUXTLA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5
10.—MUNICIPIO SAN LORENZO = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Gilberto Augusto Cárcamo" ..... =5
11.—MUNICIPIO TURIN = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Juan de Dios del Cid" ..... =5
12.—MUNICIPIO EL REFUGIO = 4 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =4

DEPARTMENT OF MORAZAN 193 Juntas

1.—MUNICIPIO SAN FRANCISCO = 20 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta Unificada ..... =20
2.—MUNICIPIO JOCORO = 15 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Marcelino Garcia Flamenco" ..... =15
3.—MUNICIPIO CORINTO = 15 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Dr. Arturo Romero" ..... =15
4.—MUNICIPIO SOCIEDAD = 15 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Dr. Ramón Rosa" ..... =15
5.—MUNICIPIO CACAOPERA = 15 Juntas.
a) Escuela Naciones Unidas ..... =15

6.—MUNICIPIO GUATAJIAGUA = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "General Gerardo Barrios" ..... =10
7.—MUNICIPIO EL DIVISADERO = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Jorge Washington" ..... =5
8.—MUNICIPIO JOCOAITIQUE = 7 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Florinda de Juárez Alemán" ..... =7
9.—MUNICIPIO OSICALA = 7 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Benito Juárez" ..... =7
10.—MUNICIPIO CHILANGA =7 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Dr. David Turcios" ..... =7
11.—MUNICIPIO MEANGUERA = 7 Juntas.
a) Escuela "José Simeón Cañas" ..... =7
12.—MUNICIPIO TOROLA = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Marcelino García Flamenco" ..... =10
13.—MUNICIPIO SAN SIMON = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5
14.—MUNICIPIO DELICIAS DE CONCEPCION = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Benito Nolasco" ..... =5
15.—MUNICIPIO JOATECA = 7 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Manuel José Arce" ..... =7
16.—MUNICIPIO ARAMBALA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5
17.—MUNICIPIO LOLOTIQUILLO = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta Unificada ..... =5
18.—MUNICIPIO YAMABAL = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Pedro Pablo Castillo" ..... =5
19.—MUNICIPIO YOLOAIQUIN = 4 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =4
20.—MUNICIPIQ SAN CARLOS = 4 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Lic. Juan José Guzmán" ..... =4
21.—MUNICIPIO EL ROSARIO = 4 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Presbitero José Serapio Ponce de León" ..... =4
22.—MUNICIPIO PERQUIN = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Unión Panamericana ..... =5
23.—MUNICIPIO SENSEMBRA = 3 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =3
24.—MUNICIPIO GUALOCOCTI = 3 Juntas.
a) Escuela "José Matias Delgado" ..... =3
25.—MUNICIPIO SAN FERNANDO = 3 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =3
26.—MUNICIPIO SAN ISIDRO = 2 Juntas.
a) Escuela "General Francisco Morazán" ..... =2

DEPARTMENT OF SAN VICENTE 174 Juntas

1.—MUNICIPIO SAN VICENTE = 60 Juntas.
a) 3er. Ciclo "Sarvelio Navarrete" ..... =30
b) Escuela "Dr. David González" ..... =30
TOTAL 2 PUESTOS DE VOTACION.
2.—MUNICIPIO TECOLUCA = 30 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Rafael Suárez" ..... =30
3.—MUNICIPIO SAN SEBASTIAN = 15 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Federico González" ..... =15
4.—MUNICIPIO APASTEPEQUE = 15 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Mercedes Novoa" ..... =15
5.—MUNICIPIO SAN ESTEBAN CATARINA = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Dr. Adrián Garcia" ..... =10
6.—MUNICIPIO SAN ILDEFONSO = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "María Luisa v. de Marín" ..... =10
7.—MUNICIPIO SANTA CLARA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5
8.—MUNICIPIO SAN LORENZO = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5
9.—MUNICIPIO VERAPAZ = 6 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Presbitero Norberto Marroquin" ..... =6
10.—MUNICIPIO GUADALUPE = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Salvador Hidalgo Cornejo" ..... =5

11.—MUNICIPIO SANTO DOMINGO = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Dr. Esteban Castro" ..... =5
12.—MUNICIPIO SAN CAYETANO ISTEPEQUE = 4 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Dr Justo Aguilar" ..... =4
13.—MUNICIPIO TEPETITAN = 4 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Pedro Pablo Castillo" ..... =4

DEPARTMENT OF CABAÑAS 140 Juntas

1.—MUNICIPIO SENSUNTEPEQUE = 40 Juntas.
2.—MUNICIPIO ILOBASCO = 40 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Sor Henríguez" ..... =40
3.—MUNICIPIO VICTORIA = 15 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Alberto Menjívar Rodríguez" ..... =15
4.—MUNICIPIO SAN ISIDRO = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela Centro América ..... =10
5.—MUNICIPIO JUTIAPA = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "15 de Septiembre" ..... =10
6.—MUNICIPIO TEJUTEPEQUE = 10 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Irineo Chacón" ..... =10
7.—MUNICIPIO DOLORES = 6 Juntas.
a) Escuela "Laura Urquilla v. de Azurdia" ..... =6
8.—MUNICIPIO CINQUERA = 5 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =5
9.—MUNICIPIO GUACOTECTI = 4 Juntas.
a) Escuela Urbana Mixta ..... =4

APPENDIX C.—OBSERVER DELEGATIONS PRESENT

International Observer Delegations to El Salvador's Elections

UNITED STATES

Senator Nancy Kassebaum.
Congressman Robert Livingston.
Congressman John Murtha.
Father Theodore Hesburgh.
Doctor Clark Kerr.
DAS Everett E. Briggs.
Richard Scammon.
Howard Penniman.

UNITED KINGDOM

Professor Derek Bowen: International lawyer and President of Queen's College, Cambridge.
Sir John Galsworthy: Former British Ambassador to Mexico.

AUSTRIA

Dr. Wolfgang Bleck: People's Party Parliamentarian.

FRANCE

Jean-Marie Daillet: CDS and World Christian Democratic Union.

GERMANY

Dr. Carl Otto Lenz: CDU.
Karl Franz Lamers: CDU.
Dr. Manfred Langer: CDU, European Parliament.
Lorenz Niegel: (CSU).
Walter Althammer: (CSU).

ISRAEL

Ambassador Jack Dekel: Former Israeli Ambassador to El Salvador.

OAS

Jose Represas: Mexico; Chairman of the Inter-American Council on Trade and Production.
Donald Reid Cabral: Ex-Foreign Minister of the Dominican Republic.

Antonio Pinilla Sanchez-Concha: Peru; Director of Andean Pact Andres Bello Business School.

VENEZUELA

Jose Rodriguez Iturbe: President of the MOFA Advisory Commission on Foreign Relations.

Boris Buminov Para: Venezuelan Ambassador to the Netherlands and noted Venezuelan authority on elections.

Alberto Lopez Oliver: Member of the Venezuelan Supreme Electoral Council.

BELIZE

Sir Alexander Hunter: Former Speaker of the House of Representatives.

COLOMBIA

Carlos Barda Mendoza: Ambassador to Costa Rica.
Henandez Pallau: Ambassador to El Salvador.
Fernando Cepeda Ulloa: Liberal Party.
Antonio Cacau Prada: Jurist and Historian.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Emilio Fernandez Rojas: Secretary of Commerce and Industry.
Pedro Padilla Tanos: Foreign Ministry.
Maj. Gen. Virgelio Payano Rojas.

PERU

Dr. Domingo Garcia Rada: Director of Electoral Tribunal.

Dr. Virgilio Vannini: Deputy Director of Electoral Tribunal.

Felipe Osterling: Former Minister of Justice and Popular Christian Party leader.

Roberto Rotundo: Former Minister of Industry and Popular Christian Party leader.

Javier Barron: International Affairs Secretary of the Popular Christian Party.

CANADA

Bob Wenman: Parliamentarian.
Sinclair Stevens: Parliamentarian.

NORWAY

Bjorn Ytterhorn: Progressive Party Parliamentarian.

COSTA RICA

Francisco Saenz Mesa: President of Supreme Electoral Tribunal.

Jose Figueres: Former President of Costa Rica and President of SI; member National Liberation Party (PLN).

Carlos Ugalde Alvarez: PLN Deputy.
Rafael Serrano Prado: United Deputy.
Lafitte Fernandez: "La Nacion."

URUGUAY

Camillo Pereyra Urena: Vice President of Electoral Court.
Ambassador Luis de Posadas Montero: Foreign Ministry.

CHILE

Ambassador to El Salvador.

ARGENTINA

Francisco Manrique: President of the Federal Party.
Jorge Marandino: Member of the Christian Democratic Party.

PANAMA

Nestor Gutierrez: Christian Democratic Party.
Ambassador to El Salvador.

PARAGUAY

Senator Manuel Frutos Pane: Colorado Party. 3/26
Deputy Americoa Velazquez: Colorado Party. 3/26

JAMAICA

Rudolph Irvine: Past member of Electoral Commission.

EGYPT

Ambassador to El Salvador.

HONDURAS

Ambassador Roberto Suazo Tome.
Emroqie Meila Ucles: Electoral Tribunal.
Angel David Reyes: Electoral Tribunal.
Roberto Avila Quinonez: Foreign Ministry.
Gerardo Martinez Blanco: Foreign Ministry.

ECUADOR

HAITI

GUATEMALA

PHILIPPINES

Election Commissions from a number of Latin American Democracies.
European Christian Democratic Union.
German Christian Democratic Union.
Italian Christian Democratic Party.
South and Central American trade federations, including Venezuelan CLAT, Dominican CASC and others.
Konrad Adenauer Foundation.
AFL–CIO.
Freedom House.

Citizens' Council on the El Salvador Crisis.
American Catholic Committee.
Coalition for Free Elections in El Salvador.

ENHANCED DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION

Ambassador Sirrs: Canadian Ambassador to Costa Rica.
Japanese Foreign Ministry Officials.
Belgian Ambassador to Guatemala.

APPENDIX D.—CRITICISM OF THE EL SALVADOR ELECTIONS

Since this report was drafted, several stories have appeared that seek to call into question the results of the Salvador elections. Such reports do not reflect what members of the U.S. delegation observed in El Salvador. The specific questions raised in the reports have been responded to by Dr. Howard Penniman of the U.S. observer team and by Dr. Jorge Bustamente, President of the Electoral Commission. Their reports are included here as an extension of the record of what we saw and understood during our stay in El Salvador.

AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH,
Washington, D.C., June 3, 1982.

EDITOR,
The New York Times,
New York, N.Y.

TO THE EDITOR: The very elaborate argument put forth by Thomas Sheehan in his June 3rd op. ed. article, "Salvador Vote Inflated, Study is Said to Find," is a mixture of statements that are obviously uninformed, inherently absurd, or clearly overstated. In fact, four voters were generally handled simultaneously for various stages of the voting process from presentation of valid identity cards, to signing of the voting roll, to casting of the ballot in the voting booth, to recovery of their identity card after voting. The argument suffers from numerous other errors as well. Voting in fact took anywhere from 30 seconds to over a minute for each voter. Indeed, all voters (at an average of 369 per voting place) could have been accommodated at open polling places in an average of just over six hours. And, most polls were open for eleven hours.

With regard to Mr. Sheehan's other allegations, three million ballots were printed in order to meet requirements of the law calling for 500 ballots for each of the anticipated 4,500 precincts plus enough extra ballots for any precincts whose supply might become depleted and to guard against the possibility that guerrillas might seize some of them. The implications that the ballot tabulation was suspended to fix the count is ludicrous. Election observers from many countries, including the U.S. and Canada, observed the tallying and computation of votes on a continuous basis and compared the tally sheets produced at the local precinct level with the final computer printouts at the Central Election Commission and found perfect matches. The fact is that hundreds of international observers and press as well as poll workers and party observers watched the elections, received tallies from the precincts, and verified the integrity of the elections. No one has documented any substantial charge of fraud. The Election Commission continues to open its tabulations to interested observers.

The allegation that six political parties of widely varying ideologies, poll workers, and party observers from throughout the country, and the Election Commission, headed by the respected independent Jorge Bustamente, and staffed by computer and other technicians all conspired to give a fraudulent account of the Salvadoran election is absurd on its face. I attended the March 29 luncheon meeting of Ambassador Hinton with representatives of the six participating political parties at which all agreed on the importance of avoiding frivolous charges of fraud. The notion that the United States suggested or organized a coverup of fraudulent election returns is absolutely false. No serious and documented charges of fraud could be covered up and no such charges have been made.

I personally, and millions of Americans on television, witnessed the spontaneous enthusiasm of Salvadorans for the election. I verified the authenticity of the election process based on a lifetime of observing elections in the U.S. and in dozens of developed and developing countries. Mr. Sheehan's article appears to fall into the

unfortunate trap of seeking to explain away what does not conform to prior expectations of guerrilla strength. We should all note the reaction of the Acting Archbishop of San Salvador to the elections. Archbishop Rivera y Damas called on "the leaders of the FDR and of the guerrillas that they accept the verdict of the people in favor of peace, of democracy and justice. . . ."

Sincerely,

HOWARD PENNIMAN,
U.S. Election Observer to Salvadoran Elections and,
General Editor, "At the Polls" Series.

The following is the text of the rebuttal written by Dr. Jorge Bustamante in reply to articles on the Salvadoran elections that appeared in the New York Times June 4 and 6, and in an OP-ED on June 3.

Dr. Bustamante, is the President of the Salvadoran Central Elections Commission, which supervised the campaign, organized the polling and counted the votes.

Recently the New York Times and other publications have raised questions about the integrity of the March 28 elections results in El Salvador. After examining some of these articles with care (including one rather loosely based on an interview with me), it becomes obvious that the basic source is a "research" report prepared by the University of Central America. We are not surprised by UCA's report—they wrote a similar report predicting fraud before the elections. We are surprised that the University's report has received so much currency without being subjected to the same scrutiny given most pronouncements from El Salvador.

The basic allegation of the UCA report is that the election results announced by the Central Elections Commission, while accurately reflecting the percentages won by each party, were approximately doubled in order to show greater voter turnout. The charge flies in the face of the findings of over 100 international observers and the on-the-scene reporting of more than 750 journalists from around the world. To quote the official report of the OAS Observers, which is representative of the reports from others, "The Salvadoran people have voted massively, equally in the cities as well as in the small towns, in a free and orderly manner, expressing the firm decision of making their sovereign right to vote count."

In spite of the fact that no one has said they know how this "fraud" was carried out, some specific charges have been made and deserve comment.

It has been said that simple arithmetic shows that 1.5 million people could not have voted during the time the polls were open since each voter needed 3 minutes. The fatal flaw in this argument is that it did not take 3 minutes to vote. The Commission studied this question before the election; we estimated 90 seconds per vote. I timed myself when I voted and I only needed 37 seconds after I got to the table. In addition, most voting tables processed three people at the same time which further speeded the voting process.

In an article in the June 3 New York Times, Mr. Thomas Sheehan makes much of a three hour halt in the announcement of results. He also says we on the Elections Commission announced that 80 percent of the results were in at that time. On the first point, he is right—we did stop announcing the results.

We stopped the public announcement of the vote count for two simple reasons. First, the voting tables each were sending the Central Elections Commission a telegram providing us with a preliminary count of the vote at their table. These telegrams, over 4,500 of them, were all trying to reach the Central Elections Commission at the same time and overwhelmed the National Telegraph System. We needed time for the system to catch up. The second problem concerned the reports in the telegrams themselves. In many of them the vote count did not coincide with the number of ballots issued to the table because of simple errors in arithmetic. When the figures did not balance the computer would reject the information. Then a Commission employee would have to review the telegram, find the error, correct it by hand, and then re-enter it in the computer. This time-consuming process caused a back-log. We stopped the announcements to allow our people to catch up. International observers, members of diplomatic missions, political party representatives and Central Elections Commission officials were present at the Commission offices all during this time. Not one person present has charged that tampering took place.

Mr. Sheehan also writes that "some hours after the closing of the polls . . . the Board said that it had tablulated 881,883 ballots and that this corresponded to 80 percent of the votes cast." We made no such statement on election night. At noon

two days after the election we announced 881,883 ballots had been counted and that they represented 80 percent of the results from the voting tables. Because people were allowed to vote anywhere in the country, some voting tables were much busier than others. Thus the percentage of tables counted at any given moment did not correspond to the percentage of the votes counted at that time. For example, at the time of the announcement we had not yet counted the department of San Salvador, which by itself produced about one-third of the total vote.

Issue has been made of the fact that we on the Elections Commission printed 3 million ballots when our most optimistic estimate of the number of eligible voters was far less than that number. There were several reasons for this. As I noted before, any citizen could vote at any voting table, thus it was impossible to know how many voters might present themselves at any given table. We made our best estimates and sent extra ballots to local elections officials in case individual tables ran short. Also, the guerrillas had promised to violently disrupt the elections. We had to provide for the possibility that some ballots might be lost to insurgent action. Futhermore, we had to allow for the loss of ballots through human error. The final reason for printing so many ballots should be obvious. To have held an election in which some citizens were denied their vote because of a shortage of ballots would have been a tragic farce.

The June 4 Times article cites an anonymous source to the effect that the "National Telephone Communication center which was run by the Army" somehow altered the election results as the telegrams came in from the country-side. The Electoral Commission compared the results from the telegram with the results in the affidavits prepared by each electoral table. The tables sent their affidavits to the Electoral Commission directly via messenger. The comparison showed a discrepancy of less than one percent.

In the same June 4 article your reporter says that our April 13 printout shows no voting in nine villages in Chalatenango Department. But the April 14 printout shows all nine voting. This is not correct. Our printouts for those two days and the final printout of May 7 all show the same thing: four Municipalities—Nueva Trinidad, San Isidro Labrador, San Antonio de la Cruz and San Antonio Los Ranchos—did not vote. These towns were not able to vote because of heavy insurgent activity.

Other questions are raised in a June 6 article in the Times. Your reporter says, "In San Ildefonso, San Vicente 4 of the 10 voting stations reported that all of the 500 ballots it had received had been improperly marked." In fact local elections officials annulled the ballots from these four tables not for improper marking, but because they suspected fraud. The voiding of these ballots was in complete accord with our electoral law. A similar annulling of ballots took place in Suchitoto, Cuscatlan. We at the Elections Commission see nothing wrong with this in spite of the fact that it reduced the final vote count. It was the duty of the election officials to invalidate ballots when fraud was suspected.

The same article points out that in Aguilares, San Salvador, 19 of 20 tables reported an identical vote count.

Aguilares is what we call a "conflictive area" of San Salvador Department. Fighting had taken place all during election day around the town. The local election authorities were anxious to return to the safety of their homes, so they counted all the votes from all the tables and reported them in one telegram in order to speed things up. Since the total number of votes was not divisible by 20 and we could not report a fraction of a vote, we made 19 identical packages and put the remainder in the twentieth. Subsequently, when the voting table affadavits arrived at the Central Elections Commission the totals were consistent with the telegram. While the official system was not strictly observed, all votes cast in Aguilares were counted. There is no evidence that local officials were doing anything but trying to get a fair vote count under trying and dangerous circumstances. The article states that the same thing happened with nine of 10 tables in El Paisnal, San Salvador. It did. And for exactly the same reasons.

Mention is also made in this article of possible fraud in Jiquilisco, Usulutan. In this case, your reporter seems to have confused ballots issued with ballots cast. Voter turnout was heavy in that municipality and extra ballots were issued to all 18 tables. Our printouts clearly show that 17 tables received a total of 999 blank ballots each and the other table received 515 blank ballots. Our printouts do not show uniformity in actual voting results from table to table. All this was officially reported. We fail to see a problem.

One particularly troubling point is that your June 4 article makes it seem that I acknowledged the possibility of a 10 percent vote inflation. Neither I nor the Commission acknowledge that possibility. I told your reporter that in any country—especially one without sophisticated electoral technology—an error of as much as 10 per-

cent might be expected. We believe the margin of error in our March 28 elections to have been much less—perhaps as little as 1 percent.

Even if we were to concede a 10 percent inflation of the vote, we would be speaking of no more than plus or minus 150,000 votes, not the 600,000 to 700,000 votes alleged by the UCA study.

We do not mind explaining apparent inconsistencies. But we find the allegations of grand conspiracies and massive vote inflation frustrating. The charges are so groundless as to be absurd on their face. But it is a shame to see the most honest, open and free elections in our history slandered. If these elections were fixed I want to know how it was done. Sweeping accusations based on unsupportable concepts, such as 3 minutes per vote can only impede the difficult transition to democracy in El Salvador. To say otherwise is to defraud a people who before the eyes of the world, and often at great personal risk, chose democracy.

DR. JORGE BUSTAMANTE,
President, Central Elections Commission,
San Salvador, El Salvador.

[From the New York Times, June 3, 1982]

SALVADOR VOTE INFLATED, STUDY IS SAID TO FIND

(By Thomas Sheehan)

CHICAGO.—In a study to be released next week, a team of researchers at the Jesuit-administered Central American University in El Salvador are to charge that fraud was perpetrated in that country's March 28 election for the new Constituent Assembly, with at least the knowledge of the United States Government.

After the balloting, El Salvador's Central Election Board issued a final tally of 1,485,185 votes, and the Reagan Administration seized upon this unexpectedly high turnout as a repudiation of the leftist opposition and an endorsement of its own policy toward El Salvador. In Washington, the election had been billed as a referendum on ballots versus bullets—only guerrilla bullets were meant—and victory would depend upon how many Salvadorans voted.

The university researchers argue that the actual number of votes, far from being about 1.5 million, could not have exceeded 800,000 and, more likely, was probably about 700,000.

They claim that while the final, announced tally grossly inflated the number of ballots cast, nonetheless to prevent political squabbles the percentage that each party actually received at the polls—and thus the number of seats each got in the Constituent Assembly—remained unchanged.

The researchers admit that absolutely conclusive proof is still outstanding and is perhaps impossible to obtain. Nevertheless, they draw what they consider evidence for the allegedly fraudulent tally from a number of converging facts and calculations.

1. A simple calculation of the number of available ballot boxes and the time required to vote shows that it was physically impossible for 1.5 million people to have voted legally on March 28.

The Central Election Board prepared 4,556 ballot boxes, each able to hold 500 ballots, but since at least 30 municipalities did not vote, only 4,021 boxes were actually used. Polling booths were to remain open for 9 hours if they did not have electricity and for 12 hours if they did, and a member of the board calculated that individual voting required an average of 3 minutes.

Now even if all 4,021 ballot boxes had functioned for the full 12 hours and had received ballots continuously during that period, and even if each individual's voting time had been accelerated from 3 to 2½ minutes, the maximum number of votes that could have been cast would be 1,158,048—some 327,000 fewer than the reported final tally.

But, in fact, the booths remained open for only 8 hours on average and in some places did not receive ballots until after midday. At the accelerated rate of 2½ minutes per vote, the maximum number of votes would be 772,032, or 50 percent fewer than the official final tally. If one uses the Election Board's estimate of 3 minutes per vote, the maximum would be 643,360, or 60 percent fewer.

2. Some hours after the official close of the polls, the Election Board announced that because of conflicting returns it was suspending the public counting of the vote. (A similar tactic was used in 1972 when election fraud deprived José Napoléon Duarte of the presidency.) At that point, the board said that it had tabulated

881,883 ballots and that this corresponded to 80 percent of the total votes cast. If one extrapolates from those figures, the final count should have been 1,091,330 votes—almost 400,000 fewer than the final figure eventually given out.

3. It was reported in the Madrid daily El País that on the morning after the election, the United States Ambassador, Deane Hinton, enjoined leaders of the political parties from discussing electoral fraud, and since then a deputy in the Constituent Assembly has publicly referred to "the pact" agreed upon by the parties not to mention maneuvers to increase the vote. In private conversation in San Salvador, the ambassador of a large Latin American country has estimated that the political parties agreed to at least a doubling of the vote.

There is evidence of other potential irregularities connected with the election—such as the printing of 1.5 million ballots more than the Central Election Board's estimate of the number of eligible voters—but none of these approaches the dimensions of the apparent fraud in the final tally of votes.

Washington suffered a reversal when the Christian Democrats, backed by the United States, were pushed into the minority in the Constituent Assembly by the combined strength of the parties on the far right.

The apparent inflation of the vote justifies asking whether there is any basis in fact for the Reagan Administration's claim that the large voter turnout represented an endorsement of its policy toward El Salvador.

Thomas Sheehan, professor of philosophy at Loyola University, recently returned from a three-week fact-finding visit to El Salvador.

[From the New York Times, June 4, 1982]

Fraud is Reported in Salvador Vote

CHIEF OF THE ELECTION COUNCIL CONCEDES THE OFFICIAL TOTAL MAY HAVE BEEN INFLATED

(By Raymond Bonner)

San Salvador, June 3.—The President of El Salvador's Central Elections Council said today that the vote total in the March elections might have been inflated.

Dr. Jorge Bustamante, head of the Council, vigorously defended the official results during a long interview in which he was asked about numerous reported discrepancies.

But at the end of the interview he conceded that "there might have been a 10 percent error" in the total number of people who went to the polls.

Some politicians, diplomats and scholars who closely examined the elections have said that the official vote total may have been doubled.

THERE WAS MASSIVE FRAUD

In an article scheduled for publication next week, the editors of the magazine Central American Studies charged that "there are serious indications that lead to the confirmed reasonable conclusion that there was massive fraud in the number of voters." The magazine is published by the private José Simeón Cañas University of Central America, the largest university in El Salvador.

According to the editors, between 600,000 and 800,000 people voted in the March 2 elections. The official results, released by the Central Elections Council, showed that 1,551,687 Salvadorans voted.

Dr. Bustamante said today that the number of Salvadorans who cast ballots according to the official results represented about 90 percent of the entire eligible electorate.

In an interview before the election, however, Dr. Bustamante calculated that there were only about 1 million registered voters. In painstakingly explaining his calculation at the time, he referred to the total population, the Salvadorans who were too young to vote, the refugees who had fled the country and the reasons why most peasants lacked the identification cards necessary to vote.

IT'S IMPOSSIBLE

Dr. Bustamante, a gynecolegist and political independent, said today that he had made the estimate of only 1 million eligible voters because he was expecting a turn out of not more than 800,000. United States diplomats and Salvadoran politicians

including José Napoleón Duarte, who was then President of the Junta, were also predicting a voter turnout of about that magnitude.

"One and a half million?" said a Salvadorn political leader who asked not to be identified. "It's impossible." He said he thought the actual number of voters was between 900,000 and a million.

"It's impossible," said a diplomat. "I know there was fraud. Only in a Communist country is there voting like this."

He added: "It was badly done because it's not believable. They should have made it more believable." He said he believed that the actual number of voters was between 600,000 and 800,000.

HOW WAS IT DONE?

"Who did it?" the diplomat said. "I don't know. How was it done? I also don't know."

Those who charge the election total was inflated concede that they have no hard proof and that they do not know how it was done.

The diplomat said he thought ballot boxes had been stuffed after the polls closed. Another source said he thought the results were inflated at the national telecommunications center, which is run by the army and which received the vote tallies from the provinces.

As circumstantial evidence of the inflated vote total, the critics cite numerous voting irregularities.

NINE MISSING VILLAGES

According to a computer printout from the Central Elections Council dated April 13, there was no voting in nine villages in Chalatenango, a province where the guerillas were strong and the war was expected to keep people from casting ballots. But the Council's April 14 computer printout showed voting in those nine villages.

There are similar discrepanices between the April 13 and 14 computer printouts in two other provinces.

Asked what how he could explain the discrepancies between the printouts, Dr. Bustamante said today, "I don't know."

He produced a computer printout dated May 14 that showed voting in the nine villages in Chalatenango, and insisted again that the official tally was accurate and honest.

But 5 minutes later he offered the possibility that the official vote total might have been inflated by 10 percent.

A QUESTION OF PERCENTAGES

Two days after the elections, the country's major afternoon daily quoted Dr. Bustamante as saying that with 80 percent of the votes counted the total for the six parties was 881,883. This would indicate a final total of 1,091,330, or about half a million fewer than the official tally.

When asked today about his earlier remarks, Dr. Bustamante at first emphatically denied that he had ever said anything about 80 percent of the vote.

Later, when shown a copy of the newspaper account, he acknowledged that he had made the statement about 80 percent of the votes being counted. He said he meant that 80 percent of the votes received by the Council at that time—18 hours after the polls had closed—were counted. Within 24 hours after the polls closed, Dr. Bustamante said, more than 90 percent of the ballots were received by the Council.

[From the New York Times, June 6, 1982]

SALVADORN LEADER DENIES VOTE FRAUD

(By Raymond Bonner)

SAN SALVADOR, June 5.—El Salvador's provisional president, Alvaro Magaña, said today that he "definitely" did not accept charges being made by researchers at the country's largest university that there was fraud in the number of votes reported in the March elections here.

In an article that is scheduled to appear this week, the editors of Central American Studies charge that between 600,000 and 800,000 people voted in the March 28 elections. The official Government figure put the number of voters at 1,551,687. Cen-

tral American Studies is published by the private José Simeón Cañas University of Central America.

Mr. Magaña, who was named president by the Constituent Assembly elected March 28, said that he had not seen the university's report, but that he had heard about the charges that the vote was inflated.

Asked if he accepted the university's charges, he said in a telephone interview, "Definitely not."

"I don't know who is making them," he said. "But somebody, because they have different political views, is trying to make it more difficult for our country."

OFFICIAL CONCEDES POSSIBLE ERROR

In an interview Thursday, Dr. Jorge Bustamante, president of the Central Elections Council, said it was possible that there might have been a 10 percent "error" in the official vote tally.

"Maybe they tried to trick us," he said. "Maybe they did some dirty things. I don't know any place where the election is pure, and especially not an underdeveloped country."

But Dr. Bustamante stressed that he was satisfied because "I was expecting only 800,000 maximum."

Researchers at the University of Central America charged that "massive fraud" in the number of votes reported in the March elections was carried out more to help the country's image than to benefit any one political party.

"There are serious indications that lead to confirmed, reasonable conclusion that there was massive fraud in the number of votes," according to the editors of Central American Studies.

A diplomat agreed with the university's conclusion that the vote total had been doubled, and a political leader said he believed the actual vote total was between 900,000 and 1 million. The diplomat and the political leader agreed to express their views about the discrepancy in the number of votes reported only if they were not identified.

The editors said they reached the "conclusion that there was a pact between the United States, political parties and army high command to respect the proportionality of the votes."

But "above all," according to the editors, the purpose of the agreement was to "prove the fundamental thesis that the Salvadoran people were against the guerrillas."

Reagan Administration officials have interpreted the large voter turnout as evidence that the Salvadorans do not support the leftist rebels, as well as arguing that it demonstrates the Salvadorans' desire for democracy.

The diplomat characterized the fraud as "proportional and general, not favoring one party."

According to the political leader, the army high command was worried about a victory by the rightist Nationalist Republican Alliance Party, which is headed Roberto d'Aubuisson.

To support his thesis and any inflated vote count benefited the National Conciliation Party, the political leader pointed out that the final results gave the National conciliation Party one deputy in each of the 14 provinces.

EVIDENCE CALLED CIRCUMSTANTIAL

Those who have charged that the election totals were inflated acknowledge that they do not know how it was carried out and that their evidence is circumstantial.

An examination of the computer printouts from the Central Elections Council, which conducted the elections, disclosed several irregularities:

In San Ildefonso, San Vicente, 4 of the 10 voting stations reported that all of the 500 ballots it had received had been improperly marked. In Suchitoto, Cuscatlan, four tables reported that exactly 500 of its ballots had been improperly marked. The nationwide average of invalid ballots per voting booth was 35.

In Aguilares, San Salvador, 19 of the 20 voting booths reported the identical vote count. The Nationalist Republicans were reported as having received 109 votes at each of the 19 voting tables; the National Conciliation Party 141 at each of the 19 tables; the Christian Democrats 95, and the Democratic action Party 31. The 19 voting stations also reported the identical number of invalid, blank and challenged ballots.

In El Paisnal, San Salvador, 9 of the 10 tables reported the identical vote count for each of the parties.

In Jiquilisco, Usulutan, a province where heavy fighting interfered with the voting, 17 of the 18 tables accounted for exactly 999 ballots. One table reported that 533 ballots had been lost.

The election results gave the Christian Democrats 24 seats in the 60-member National Assembly, followed by the Nationalist Republicans with 19. The National Conciliation Party has 14 deputies, and two parties share the remaining 3 seats.

[From the New York Times, June 14, 1982]

New Doubt Cast on Salvadoran Vote

(By Raymond Bonner)

San Salvador, June 13.-A study by a research center at El Salvador's largest university asserts that the number of voters in the March elections was at least 270,000 fewer than the Government has reported.

According to the study, made public last week by the predominantly Jesuit-administered José Simeón Canas University of Central America, the "maximum possible number of votes" that could have been cast was 1,281,600. The official figure is 1,551,687.

The study, by the school's Center for documentation and Information, is the second from the university to challenge the Government's vote total. The university is considered by many to be sympathetic to the political left, and many of the center's previous studies have been critical of the Salvadoran Government.

DUARTE CRITICIZES UNIVERSITY

Earlier last week, the editors of the university's magazine, Central American Studies, concluded that "there are serious indications that lead to a confirmed, reasonable opinion that there was massive fraud in the number of votes." According to the magazine, the number of voters on March 28 was 600,000 to 800,000.

José Napoleón Duarte, who was President of the junta governing El Salvador at the time of the elections, has charged that the university is "trying to destroy the democratic process" with its allegations that the vote total was fraudulently inflated.

The center's argument is that not more than 1.3 million people could have voted on March 28 given the time it took to vote, the number of polling places and the "effective" number of hours the polls were open.

There are disagreements on how long it took to vote. According to the editors of Central American Studies, some Elections Council officials said the average voting time had been 3 minutes. The center, citing estimates by officials of the Central Elections Council, which conducted the elections, concludes that it took a minimum of 2 minutes for a voter to complete the balloting process.

The country's most conservative newspaper, El Diario de Hoy, reported the day after the elections that it took "up to 10 minutes" to vote. Howard Penniman, an American expert on voting who was a member of the United States team sent to observe the election, clocked the actual voting time of each person at under a minute.

HOW THEY VOTED

When a voter reached the table, the name, number and date on the voter's identification card were checked, first by one of the Government officials and then by representatives of the political parties. The voter's hand was also examined by a machine designed to react to an indelible mark showing that a person had voted. Then the voter received a ballot, walked a few feet to the voting booth, marked the ballot, folded it and stuffed into the slot in the ballot box. After voting, the voter returned to the voting table, where the name and identification number were written by hand in a ledger and an identification card was stamped.

Dr. Jorge Bustamante, president of the Elections Council, said in a recent interview that it took him 37 seconds to vote. But he said that the place where he voted was "very well organized."

A reporter observed voting in the provinces of Ahuachapán and Sonsonate, places where the war did not interfere. There 25 to 40 people an hour were voting at the various tables.

The center also argues that the average number of effective voting hours was 10. Official voting hours were from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. in places with electricity and until 4

p.m. in those without. According to Dr. Bustamante, "most" of the polls were not open the maximum number of hours for a variety of reasons.

The final factor in the center's equation is that there were 4,272 working voting tables, a number taken from computer printouts from the Elections Council.

TOP FIGURE PUT AT 1,281,600

The center says that if it took 2 minutes to vote and there were 4,272 polling stations with uninterrupted voting for 10 hours, then 1,281,600 Salvadorans voted. The center says this would be the maximum number possible. Other evidence suggests that that figure may be high.

For example, according to the Elections Council's final report, there were only 3,781 polling stations.

The center's report does not address the issues of which, if any, of the political parties benefited from the inflation of the vote total or why the subject of fraud has not been more openly discussed by the politicians.

Those who have charged that the election total was fraudulently inflated acknowledged that they do not know how it was carried out.

"Sure there was fraud, everybody knows it," said a business leader. "But you tell me how it was done, I don't know."

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